

A CASE STUDY OF STUDENTS FROM MIXED EDUCATIONAL AND
LINGUISTIC BACKGROUNDS LEARNING ENGLISH AS A FIRST
LANGUAGE IN A NON-RACIAL SCHOOL

Brenda Leibowitz

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the
degree of Master of Philosophy in the Faculty of Education,
University of Cape Town, March 1990.

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

It is important to distinguish between unity and uniformity. We are strongly for national unity, for seeing our country as a whole, not just in its geographic extension but in its human extension. We want full equal rights for every South African, without reference to race, language, ethnic origin or creed. We believe in a single South Africa with a single set of governmental institutions, and we work towards a common loyalty and patriotism. Yet this is not to call for a homogenised South Africa made up of identikit citizens. South Africa is now said to be a bilingual country: we envisage it as a multi-lingual country. It will be multi-faith and multi-cultural as well.

Extract from edited version of Albie Sachs' seminar paper on culture, printed in the Weekly Mail, 2 February 1990.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Professor Doug Young for his patient supervision over the past few years. I would also like to thank Andre, Maureen and Emily for proofreading and providing useful criticism of the rough drafts (not that I always welcomed this at the time!) The dissertation discussion group with Patricia, Maureen, Glynnis and Carohn provided much stimulation and moral support, especially in the early stages of the research. Wendy, Lufuno and Sue provided invaluable help as triangulators. However, this dissertation would not have been possible without the consent and participation of my 1988 standard nine class, who provided most of the data for the case study. I am equally grateful to the principal of my school, who gave me permission to go ahead with the study, and provided moral support and encouragement along the way. Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to the Human Sciences Research Council and the UCT Post-Graduate Scholarships Department for financial assistance in 1988 and 1989.

ABSTRACT

This is a case study of a multilingual Standard Nine class in a non-racial Cape Town college, studying English as a first language. It assesses the social and academic effects of the multilingual composition of the class. The study locates the class in the broader South African social and educational context and provides a rationale for emancipatory and reciprocal research. The theoretical foundation for the research methodology, i.e. participant observation, with the teacher as primary observer, is then presented. Theories of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) are discussed in relation to the broader context of language, society and education in South Africa. Arising out of this discussion is a description of progressive English teaching, which is suggested to be appropriate for the multilingual classroom. The prior learning experience of the second language students and the impact of this experience on the second language students in the case study, is illustrated. The social dynamics and level of participation of all students in the classroom, as well as the academic and linguistic development of the second language students, is discussed. The effectivity of the research process itself is assessed. Finally, suggestions for future research and a summary of the findings are presented.

CONTENTS		PAGE
INTRODUCTION		1
CHAPTER ONE	The Context and Rationale of the Case Study	8
CHAPTER TWO	Research Design	23
CHAPTER THREE	The Social and Educational Context of Second Language Acquisition	39
CHAPTER FOUR	Progressive English Teaching in the Multilingual Classroom	66
CHAPTER FIVE	Prior Language Learning Experience of Second Language Students	88
CHAPTER SIX	Student Perceptions of the Multilingual Class	110
CHAPTER SEVEN	Student Responses to the Teaching Methodology in the Multilingual Class	137
CHAPTER EIGHT	Reflections on the Research	171
APPENDICES	Examples of the Main Research Procedures Utilized in the Case Study	193
BIBLIOGRAPHY		215

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is based on an investigation of a multilingual class of standard nine students studying English First Language (Higher Grade). The duration of the case study was one year: 1988.

Setting of the Case Study

This standard nine class was part of a non-racial private school. Known as a "cram college", it focusses largely on getting students to pass the "National Senior Certificate" matriculation exam, which is similar to the syllabus at the "white" and "coloured" schools. In 1988 the teaching staff at the college was white. The college is in Cape Town, and for the sake of anonymity it will be known as the "Southern Suburbs College".

The students at the college come from a variety of backgrounds, the majority from wealthy families. There are also a number of students whose parents scrape together the funds for the fees, and students who receive bursaries to attend the school. Students arrive at the college in standards eight, nine or ten, having previously attended schools under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education and Training (DET) and the homelands authorities, House of Assembly, House of Representatives, House of Delegates, as well as private schools.

Table One illustrates that The majority of the 26 students in the case study class spoke English as their first language. They will be referred to in the dissertation as L1 students. They did not all speak the same variety of English: some spoke Standard South African English, whilst

TABLE ONE: COMPOSITION OF THE CASE STUDY CLASS ¹

Name	Sex	Age	Home Language	Previous School(s)	Previous English Result
Adiel	M	16	English	SSC (South Pen., CT)	E
Amelia	F	17	Xhosa	Thubalethu, Transkei	C (L2)
Anwar	M	17	English	Kensington, CT	E
Bennie	M	18	Eng/Cokni	Bishops, CT	E
Bhavna	F	16	Eng/Gujarati	Rylands, CT	E
Brandon	M	16	English	Queens, Grahamstown	D
Bruce	M	16	English	Queens, Grahamstown	C
Candy	F	17	English	SSC (Belhar, CT)	D
Clive	M	16	English	SSC (Wittebome, CT)	D
Colleen	F	15	English	Strandfontein, CT	B
Fern	F	15	English	Excelsior, CT	C
Gudrun	F	18	German	Deutsche Oberschule, Swakopmund	F (L2)
Haneefa	F	16	English	SSC (South Pen., CT)	D
Janice	F	16	English	Springfield Convent, CT	B
Jenny	F	16	English	Sans Souci, CT	D
Nazeer	M	15	English	South Peninsula, CT	E
Nomi	F	20	Eng/Xhosa	SSC (Alex. Sinton, CT)	D
Nosipho	F	17	Xhosa	SSC (Nompendule, Ciskei)	F
Rashied	M	16	English	SSC (Ned Doman, CT)	D
Rifai	M	17	English	All Saints, Ciskei	D
Sanni	F	19	Xhosa/Sotho	Fezeka, CT	D (L2)
Shafiek	M	16	English	Boston House College, CT	D
Sindiswa	F	17	Xhosa	Nyathi, Ciskei	C (L2)
Sylvie	F	16	Xhosa	SSC (Trident, Langa, CT)	E
Willie	M	16	Eng/Afrikaans	Wynberg, CT	B
Yasmin	F	16	English	Waldorf, CT	C

1. Explanation of symbols and abbreviations in the table:

SSC = Southern Suburbs College;

Schools in brackets are schools attended the year before attending Southern Suburbs College;

The previous English result is the symbol attained for English at the end of the previous year, 1988. (L2) indicates that English was examined as a second language.

others spoke a number of local dialects of South African English. The most common local dialect spoken by students in the case study is known colloquially as "Cape Flats English" ². Four students in the class were bilingual with English as one of their home languages, i.e. Bennie, Bhavna, Nomie and Willie. Six students were considered non-native speakers of English, having German, Sotho and Xhosa as their first languages. These were Gudrun, Sanni, Amelia, Nosipho, Sindiswa and Sylvie. These students will be referred to for the sake of convenience as "L2 students". When the L2 students are being referred to specifically, their language status will not be indicated, but in chapters where all the participants of the case study are being mentioned, the language status of the individuals will be specified. For the sake of anonymity all students have been given false names.

Aims of the Case Study

When this case study was initially conceived, I aimed to elicit information about the learning experience of students in a multilingual class which I was teaching, with particular attention to the language acquisition of the L2 students. Their experience was to be examined in the light of current theories of Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Secondly, I hoped to show that with interventions in the teaching process – in the form of a variety of progressive teaching methods and techniques designed specifically for L2 students – I could aid the linguistic and academic development of the L2 students, without jeopardizing the academic careers of the L1 students.

2. An example of this dialect comes from the transcript of a video in Appendix 4, where Nazeer says, "Come we put mine in front."

I saw this combined focus on learning and teaching as important, partly because so little work has been done in this area. This also explains why there was very little local prior research and findings which a researcher such as myself could borrow from. In addition, the investigations into both the processes at once would illuminate each other. Experimentation with technique would highlight problems with language learning, and investigation into learning would provide direction for the kind of teaching techniques required. This combined approach was indeed useful and much cross-fertilizing did take place. However, it has also made the theory and data chapters rather cumbersome.

The choice of time-period and educational standard, i.e. standard nine, was not within my control, as this was the standard, other than matric, which had the most L2 students. The matric class is traditionally taught by another teacher, which meant that the experiment and the monitoring of its effects could not be continued the following year with sufficient intensity. The case study has demonstrated that one year is insufficient to study the affects of certain teaching methods on students in the high-school. Thus the research design was more conducive to the data gathering, than the interventionist aspects of the case study.

Issues Addressed in the Case Study

Chapters One to Four draw on research literature on the subjects of South African education, second language learning, language teaching and research methodology. These chapters lay the theoretical groundwork for the data chapters which follow.

Chapter One will provide the historical, social and political context of the standard nine multilingual class, and show how this context relates to the case study. The description of the educational crisis in South Africa and the challenge this provides for educationists will also provide the justification for this dissertation.

Chapter Two will provide a detailed description of the research design, as well as a theoretical justification for the choice of methodology.

In Chapter Three it is intended to locate recent theory on Second Language Acquisition (SLA) within broader theories of society, language and education. The application of SLA theories to a local social and educational context will contribute to our understanding of the situation facing the L2 students in the case study.

In Chapter Four a description of progressive language teaching will be provided. Methods of teaching English as a second language will be discussed within the paradigm of progressive language teaching in South Africa. In this chapter the needs of the multilingual classroom will also be examined.

The research findings will be presented in Chapters Five to Eight in response to five key questions which are enumerated below. In Chapter Five research data will be discussed in order to address the following question, which for the sake of convenience will be referred to as "Question One":

What is the previous academic language learning experience of the L2 students, and how does this

affect their learning and development in the English class under study?

Data will show that "Bantu Education" with its inadequate linguistic and academic training, combined with other social factors, has a substantial and mostly negative affect on the learning experience of the L2 students in the case study.

A second key question, Question Two, deals more directly with the multilingual class itself. It is addressed in Chapter Six:

How do the L1 and L2 students perceive studying in a multilingual class; and how much is participation affected by linguistic differences?

This question is addressed from both a social and academic point of view. From the data it is hoped to show that despite the problems faced by the L2 students in the multilingual class, the learning process was perceived by all parties concerned to have been beneficial.

Chapter Seven focusses on the following concern, referred to as "Question Three":

Do the teaching techniques appear to have a positive effect on the linguistic and academic development of the L2 students, without adversely affecting the L1 students?

Data will show that although advantages of these interventions cannot be measured quantitatively, they were variously perceived by L1 and L2 students to be useful. The limitations of these interventions will also be highlighted by the data.

Chapter Seven deals with Question Four. This question is logically a follow-on of Question Three, as it approaches the issues of techniques in a more sober light:

How much do the L2 students develop linguistically and academically in the English class throughout the year?

Data will show that whilst students and teachers do perceive development on the part of the L2 students, progress has not been proven via exam scores over a period of one year. Reasons for this lack of positive concrete indication of development are advanced throughout the dissertation, but are addressed directly in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Eight provides a response to "Question Five":

How useful was this research design, and is it worth replicating in the future?

Data will show that although participant observation is a useful method of investigation, the limitations of this particular case study should be guarded against in further work of this nature. The discussion should convince teacher trainers and SLA researchers of the importance of further research into language and schooling, in the field.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 THE CONTEXT AND RATIONALE OF THE CASE STUDY

Black languages' status has been so undermined by the South African language policy that even their speakers are painfully aware of the impotence of these languages in providing access to job market opportunities. (S. Zotwana quoted in N. Alexander, 1989:77)

Today it is difficult to someone who does not know anything about English to find a job, and talk to a English when buying clothes or when banking the money. She does not know what is the first word. (Nosipho, student in the case study, Q-3).

This dissertation begins with a characterization of South African education within the broader context of apartheid society. This broader context has a definite bearing on the behaviour of the participants in the case study, and on its outcome. In Chapter Two it is argued that research must be based on theory, and that whilst the data might contest aspects of the theory, it must constantly refer back to and enrich the theory. Thus, for the sake of intellectual rigour and honesty, it is necessary for the researcher to make her\his ideological and theoretical beliefs evident. In brief, in this chapter education will be shown to be characterized by a race and class analysis, and it will be demonstrated that this educational system is in a state of crisis.

Within this contextualisation I hope to show why the case study is necessary, what scope there is for change stemming from the individual teacher in the classroom, and what the limitations of this change are. It will be argued that change needs to occur within the educational context as well as outside of it, if it is to be effective; and that there

is scope for teachers to participate in the transformative process.

1.1.1 Race and Class

An important set of factors affecting schooling is the interrelationship of class and race. A. Morris (1986:23) has stressed the impact of class on the schooling of South African white and coloured students. The race factor, in terms of national oppression and the specific provisions of Bantu Education, appears as *the* determining factor in South African society, as it is embodied in the official terminology of government and bureaucracy; unfortunately, insufficient research has been done to show how class and social differences affect the educational advancement of black students. Nevertheless, for working class blacks, capitalism and apartheid are closely intertwined; B. Nasson shows how both race and class factors are operative for all youth in South Africa. He illustrates how these two sets of factors bear upon the private and social lives of South African children, as well as upon their schooling:

For in childhood settings there occurs a fusing of power and privilege on the one hand, with the subordination and deprivation on the other, which closely prefigures adult experience. Schooling reproduces patterns of class and racial identity as well as working skills and life opportunities. Thus, the most radical differences in children's learning experiences are tied as closely to social class as they are to race. (Nasson, 1986:95)

Nasson (1986:110) also points out how the situation is exacerbated for rural black students, who have even less access to the media, and worse school facilities.

1.1.2 The Historical Context: Education in Crisis

It has become commonplace in academic and left-wing circles

to talk of South African society as "in crisis". This is nowhere better illustrated than in the South African educational system, which is a reflection of our fundamentally undemocratic and repressive society, currently in turmoil.

K. Hartshorne has noted how Christian National Education has been "fundamentally divisive" and "authoritarian", and has failed all sections of our community, white and black. While benefitting the white community only "in the strictest sense of material benefits", white students:

...have not been given a fair chance to learn to understand, work and live with their fellow South Africans, to find out that, as human beings, what they have in common far outweighs the differences. (Hartshorne, 1986:123-4).

The situation facing black students in Department of Education and Training (DET) schools is severe. At the level of official pedagogy, students have been provided over the last five decades with an education which is undemocratic, repressive and intellectually retarding. This is clear from the tenets of the 1953 Bantu Education Act.¹ Gwala has the following to say about Bantu Education:

It has been relatively successful educationally by controlling and supressing the intellectual and analytical abilities of black students. (quoted in M. Walker, 1989b:7)

Furthermore, the instruction of students in the medium of English from the level of standard three upwards has also been relatively unsuccessful, partly because teachers themselves have not had sufficient training in English.² The ethnically divided media, the Group Areas Act, Bantustan

1. Bantu Education has been described in detail by Christie and Collins, 1984:160ff.

2. Hartshorne (1987); Ellis (1987); Walker (1989b); Heugh (1987); and Simon (1986) have all stressed this point.

policy and inadequate teacher training, have all contributed to the isolation of the pupils from "live" English.

The adoption of English (or Afrikaans) as official language and medium of instruction in South Africa can in itself be seen as discriminatory for speakers of other languages, notably African languages in South Africa. This attitude is expressed strongly by writers such as C. Searle (1972:3), or Ngugi Wa Tiong'o, who regards the imposition of a language of one people onto another, as a form of subjugation:

In my view language was the most important vehicle through which that power fascinated and held the soul prisoner. The bullet was the means of the physical subjugation. Language was the means of the spiritual subjugation. (Ngugi Wa Tiong'o, 1986:9)

Comments by N. Ndebele imply that it is not just the fact that South Africans are forced to learn in English; rather, the kind of "foreign" English they are forced to learn, and the oppressive context in which they are forced to learn it, renders the use of English as medium of instruction an imposition and a discriminatory practice which black students in DET schools have to endure:

English will have to be taught in such a way that the learners are made to recognize themselves through the learning context employed, not as second class learners of a foreign culture, or as units of labour that have to be tuned to work better, but as self-respecting citizens of the world. The idea of teaching English through the exposure of second language learners to English culture, should be abandoned. If English belongs to all, then it will naturally assume the cultural colour of its respective users. (Ndebele, 1986:11)

Aware of the discriminatory nature of Bantu Education, black students have since 1976 responded with protests, which coupled with state intransigence, (R. Levin, 1989:18) have

resulted in prolonged periods of boycott, lock-out and what Hartshorne (1986:119) refers to as a "process of disintegration": absenteeism is high, teachers are demoralised and students have lost trust in "the reliability of the senior certificate examination".

1.1.3 The Problem of ex-DET Students at other Public and Private Schools

Whether it is out of a desire to escape the boycotts and the repression, or in the belief that they will simply receive a better education elsewhere, thousands of black students are attending schools in other education departments, notably House of Representatives public schools, and private schools.³ An exact figure for such students is not available, but by 1979, according to P. Randall (1982:195), there were approximately 1 500 black students at white Catholic Schools throughout the country. According to the Department of Education and Culture for the House of Representatives, there are 1 049 African students at coloured high schools in South Africa in 1989.⁴ This figure is possibly greatly underestimated.

Many of the private schools require new students to write an entrance exam (Randall, 1982 and own sources), whilst government schools, or colleges such as the Southern Suburbs College, do not do so, and rather judge the students on their unreliable past academic record (own experience). At most of these schools the ex-DET students are required to study in the medium of English in a context where the other students are English speaking, thus the expectations of them are far higher than at DET schools. In addition, the syllabi are not the same and the students have to catch up

3. Both reasons cited above for leaving DET schools were advanced to me by students in the case study during interviews. These were either their own aspirations, or those of their parents.

4. Information obtained in a telephonic conversation by me in August 1989.

on their own. Furthermore, they now need to have sufficient knowledge of and fluency within the English language to be able to be examined on it as if it were their first language, by the time they reach matric. Many of these students reach the new schools well into their high school careers; the difference between their academic training and that of the first language students is more noticeable, and there is less time for them to accommodate themselves to the new system, language demands and syllabi.

Thus something of a mini-crisis has emerged, where large numbers of ex-DET students are being accepted into schools which are neither capable of responding to the needs of these students, nor necessarily see it as the responsibility of the institution involved to do so. At the humanitarian level it appears that something must be done to ease the predicament of these students. At the level of administrative policy, it is the responsibility of these institutions to respond to the new challenges and demands being placed on them, by virtue of their "opening up". N. Ndebele (1986:6) argues that by opening the doors of an institution without altering "fundamentally the nature of cultural practice itself" is a strategy of "containment through absorption".

1.2 EXPERIENCE WHICH LED ME TO IDENTIFY THIS PROBLEM

Much of my own understanding of this situation has been gained by a teaching spell at Livingstone High in 1986, the year when Mr Carter Ebrahim opened coloured schools to "all races". In March of that year many students from DET schools arrived at the school. My "register class", a standard eight class to which I taught English, consisted of 44 pupils, six of whom were speakers of English as a second language. At the end of the year only one out of the six

passed her final exams and could be promoted to standard nine. Whilst the other students did improve academically, this was at a very slow pace. For example, one student's English result improved from 17% in the second term to 25% in the final term, and another, from 32% to 37%. The students themselves clearly felt isolated at the school and were particularly reserved in the class. The English department at the school was divided between those teachers who felt that to "do something" about the problem would be racist, as it was acknowledging differences amongst pupils; and those who wished to provide support for the students, such as myself, but were hamstrung by our limited understanding of how to deal with multilingual classes and second language students.

In 1987 a standard eight class I taught at the Southern Suburbs College provided me with a similar feeling of frustration. Here a class of 19 students contained five students previously from DET schools. Differences in size of class and home conditions of certain of these students meant that three of the five students did pass, but their results were significantly lower than their previous academic records. The highest rate of improvement from the beginning till the end of the year was 4%. Like the ex-DET students at Livingstone, these students were quiet in the class, and expressed difficulty and frustration with the new work, especially with English as a subject. Once again I felt unable to rise to the demands and needs of these students. Conversations with colleagues at a variety of House of Representatives schools on the Cape Flats revealed that multilingual classes constituted a fairly widespread phenomenon, with which teachers were ill-equipped to deal.

1.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THIS PROBLEM

It is broadly assumed that a future South Africa under a

democratic, non-racial government would contain a non-racial, equal education system. E. Molobi (1986:77), for example, cites as one of the aims of People's Education, "the achievement of a high level of education for everyone". There is not much discussion at the public level of how to bridge the gap between the unequal educational system, which exists at present, and this more popular form of education. Present indications are that simply making present educational institutions available to more people of different educational backgrounds, is inadequate. This is evident from examples cited earlier in this chapter, of the problems facing ex-DET students at DEC and private white schools. It is further illustrated by the situation at English universities where Academic Support Programmes play such a large role.⁵ Furthermore, at universities in the homelands such as Bophutatswana, there is effectively a support programme for all students, and at universities where a programme does not exist, such as at the University of Zululand, there is talk of the need for them. In addition, English departments at Zululand and elsewhere struggle with students over the issue of standards.⁶

At the level of matriculation, a South African group of educationists, teachers and academics based largely in the "independent school" sector, have set up the Independent Examining Board (IEB); they are hoping to devise a progressive examination system which will satisfy the universities, the business sector, worker and community demands. This raises exciting opportunities for experimentation with alternative and popular education. However, it remains to be seen whether the IEB can devise a matriculation exam which is of an adequate international standard, and which is at the same time accessible to

5. According to Nan Yeld, academic support researcher at UCT, in 1989 there were 800 students at UCT who had access to one form of academic support or another - private conversation.

6. This information was obtained from a presentation at the ASP conference at UCT, 1988, and a private conversation with Professor of English, Geoff Hutchings, at the University of Zululand.

students from oppressed communities. Later chapters of this dissertation will show that issues around language acquisition, especially in relation to L2 English students, will play a pivotal role within this dilemma.

A major cause for concern is the lack of consensus and understanding amongst educationists of how the issues of language, education and society interrelate in the South African context. Very little has been written about how these factors interact at school level. From the writing about academic support at universities as well as the discussions at academic support conferences, it is evident that there is very little consensus about the causes of the low academic performance of black students at English campuses. Attempts the IEB might make to democratise matriculation certification in the present context will be worthless, unless universities look seriously at changes within their structures and syllabi. This is so because if students are aware that they need to speak or write standard English and write exams in English on their own at university level, it will not help them if a matriculation exam makes concessions for L2 English students in terms of surface errors, and if the exam facilitates a process approach.⁷

Furthermore, whatever future government exists in this country, they will still be inheriting academics, teachers and teacher trainers who have absorbed the psychological and academic limitations of the present education system, and who, in some instances, will perpetuate these. An understanding of these limitations will aid researchers or leaders who are trying to implement a new system of education.

7. At a presentation of the IEB proposals at a meeting in Cape Town organized by Education for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (EDASA) in July 1989, this concern was voiced by many teachers and university lecturers present. Concern was voiced about the relative lack of policy change at the University of Cape Town in particular.

Given the ascendancy of English in discussions about a future lingua franca in South Africa, and given the pre-eminent position of the English universities and English in the business and international community, a solution to the problems posed by language and literacy is going to be crucial if there is genuine concern to establish a non-elitist system of education in the future.

1.4 WHAT CAN BE DONE?

1.4.1 The Role of Teachers

D. Carlson notes that teachers do have a role to play in the process of transformation in society, however small:

We need an understanding of schooling that is more empowering than disempowering and that includes teachers as part of the solution rather than the problem: that is, as part of a broad-based movement to transform the schools and society and "liberate" teaching itself. (Carlson, 1988:171)

Despite the subordination of education to the dictates of society, agents for change should still exploit open spaces and the relative autonomy which exists in schools within repressive societies (Freire, 1987; Giroux, 1983; Sharp, 1980.)

This is equally true in South Africa. K. Hartshorne argues that teachers in South African should participate in the process towards post-apartheid education, and that they have a:

...strong professional contribution (to make) towards the process of development of 'people's education' in terms of such matters as content, approaches, style, standards and quality. (Hartshorne, 1986:132-3).

Writers in South African and overseas have argued that teacher research has an important role to play in teachers' participation in the transformative process. M. Walker (1989a:7) argues that due to teachers' opportunities for "sustained and reflective classroom inquiry", they "are well placed to develop an educational discourse about pedagogical strategies for present and future educational change". Furthermore, teachers can use research to facilitate their own liberation, which is part of the broader process for change. According to D. Hopkins (1985:3), research by teachers can facilitate their liberation from "the control position they so often find themselves in".

1.4.2 Teachers as Part of a Broader Movement

Writers both locally and internationally who believe that education systems here or overseas are profoundly undemocratic, argue that these education systems can only be democratised if the broader social context undergoes radical transformation. P. Freire argues this point when he writes:

...we should never take literacy as the triggering of social transformation. Literacy as a global concept is only a part of the transformative triggering mechanism. (Freire, 1987:107)

This has been echoed locally by K. Hartshorne, (1986:124) and S. Mkatshwa (1985:7), who says "education cannot be discussed in isolation from the rest of society".

It follows from this that action directed at change within the schools should work in concert with action directed at change more broadly. Carlson argues that teachers become effective as agents for change when working *not* in an isolated manner, but in concert with other forces for change in society:

Teachers are not capable of independently making the schools alter their current course or change their oppressive nature under capitalism. But teachers can play a significant and perhaps pivotal role in a movement that does have such potential. This means that it is important to establish linkages between teachers and other workers, and between teachers' interests and those of other oppressed groups in society. (Carlson, 1988:167)

Walker echoes the need for teachers to act in concert with other forces for change, with particular reference to research:

I would argue that only such organizationally located pedagogical interventions can realise the emancipatory potential of classroom action research. Only such action research is finally a struggle for reform which is not merely reformist but a contribution to building democratic schools and a democratic society. (Walker, 1989a:8)

Forces for change in the South African situation can refer to the mass-based democratic movement and its structures, or more specifically, the education-based structures, for example, the teacher unions and associations or umbrella bodies, such as the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC).⁸

This argument does not entail that every piece of research conducted must be part of an organizational project; rather, it implies that research must be congruent with, or conducive to, the principles of transformative organizations, and not ignorant of these organizations, or in opposition to them. Thus research must not be slavishly part of organizational work; it must be in tune with this work, and seek to enhance it and give content to its slogans through research and praxis.

8. Previously known as the National Education Crisis Committee.

One organizational activity to which researchers can contribute, is the development of an alternative vision of education, termed "People's Education". This notion of education as popular and arrived at through contestation of the state in the educational sphere, originated in the turmoil of educational struggle in 1986. It was advocated by figures within the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the NECC, such as Mkatshwa, Molobi, Z. Sisulu; references will be made to their speeches in Chapter Four. People's Education contains two strands: struggle in and through education, on the one hand, and education as it should be in a future democratic South Africa, on the other. This dissertation is concerned more directly with the latter strand, given that the case study does not deal specifically with contestation or protest.

I would argue that teachers have a role to play in refining and testing the claims and principles elucidated in documents pertaining to People's Education. C. Soudien maintains that People's Education needs to develop a more theoretically refined position:

An advance which is more self-consciously theoretical, which debates the assumptions and the philosophical foundations of an alternative discourse and practice, is in order. (Soudien, 1989:80)

Whilst such theoretical advances are indeed necessary, it is questionable whether these can occur in the realm of education without simultaneous experimentation and testing of the precepts at a concrete level. This is where teacher research can play an important part in enhancing the slogans of People's Education.

There are many areas of People's Education which need much attention, including topics of language and instruction, and multilingual classes. Hartshorne argues that private

schools, despite their limited impact on the educational scene and the fact that they are regarded as problematic by community organizations, are useful examples of a sort of non-racialism in practice. They:

...have much to teach South Africa about what happens when children from different backgrounds are brought together in the classroom.
(Hartshorne, 1986:125)

If we know more about how students from different educational, social and class backgrounds interact in the classroom, or how the issue of language difference affects academic progress, we will be better placed to refine the precepts of People's Education. I believe that People's Education has in fact neglected or underestimated the importance of these factors. This dissertation will examine these factors in practice, and show that they should, in fact, merit much attention in discussions about a future democratic education in South Africa.

Whilst local writing about democratic education has not paid sufficient attention to the possible problems or limitations of an alternative education system, neither has research from overseas done so. At the local level this is because this research is in its primary stages. In writing from western industrialized countries this is partly because much of this writing about transformation is attempting to counter a defeatist, pessimistic vision of the potential for change in education, as exemplified by the writing of D. Carlson:

I have argued that teachers have too often been treated in a deterministic fashion in the dominant structural-functional theory of schooling, leading to an overly-pessimistic appraisal of their real or potential role in the ongoing conflict between the two great camps in capitalist society...This implies, I think, that the Left needs to redirect its attention back *within* the institution of

schooling and those actors engaged in one way or another in politically-meaningful work in the schools... (Carlson, 1988:170,1)

On occasions, documentation of alternative forms of education have indicated success, until the point when right-wing trends in government have discouraged these. In these cases it becomes difficult to analyse the shortcomings of these forms over a period of time. This is exemplified by educational alternatives documented by S. Heath (1983) or P. Medway (1980), which suffered from Reaganite or Thatcherite conservatism respectively.

In the local context we need to assess the constraints which prevent students from developing the liberated, autonomous and co-operative qualities People's Education hopes to build, as well as constraints which prevent the students from developing academically and linguistically in a more techocratic, pragmatic sense, so that they can assume positions of power and control, if they so wish. It is hoped that this dissertation will contribute to a refinement of the precepts of People's Education, from the point of view of praxis.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter contains two sections: Part One is a literature review of current writings on research methodology. It serves as a justification for the research design utilised in the case study. This section stresses the need for the research to be socially engaged, and for it to take into account the researcher's theoretical and ideological background. Part Two of this chapter is a concrete, detailed application of the methodological considerations outlined in Part One, insofar as these are applicable in the case study.

These two sections vary in character. However, it is in concert with the notion that theory and praxis should form a unity and relate dialectically to each other, that these sections are treated as one unit.

2.1.1 PART ONE

RESEARCH AS EMANCIPATORY AND RECIPROCAL

We could also follow the lead set by some of the "mentalist" researchers and do everything possible to encourage forms of investigation that would not only be productive for the learners, but that would also bring the learners in as partners in the research enterprise. Good research can be good pedagogy, and good pedagogy can itself be good research. (D. Allwright, 1988:258)

This dissertation is based upon the premise that research should work towards the understanding of society and towards the transformation of unjust aspects of society. R. Sharp's statement about social science research applies equally to research on language education:

In the last analysis, the responsibility of the social scientist is to work toward achieving that kind of society characterized by both formal and substantive equality.... (Sharp, 1981:149)

P. Lather (1986:257) talks about doing "research in an unjust world" as "emancipatory research", or "research as praxis". This approach assumes that the researcher is engaged in the pursuit of transformation of society, and that there is no neutral approach towards research.

2.1.2 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION IN THE CLASSROOM

In Chapter One it was mentioned that blueprints for a future democratic education in South Africa still need to be developed via theoretical debate and practice. Chapter One described the important task that South African teachers have, to explore practices in the schools in order to prepare for the emerging concept of People's Education. The teacher is well placed to conduct this research into various aspects of the teaching and learning processes in the classroom, as s/he is already physically there.

In Chapter One it was also indicated that teacher research is beneficial to the teacher, in that it facilitates teacher autonomy and professionalism. In addition, teachers need to research their own classroom practice, in order to assess the extent to which they as educators are aiding the reproduction of the status quo in society. This point is stressed by R. Simons:

Furthermore student-teachers (and practising teachers if possible) urgently need to critically examine the presuppositions and ideologies upon which they base their teaching by examining transcripts and/or video recordings of their lessons. (Simons, 1986:296)

Once teachers have an understanding of their role in the reproductive process, they will be better placed to devise new, transformative teaching techniques.

Many writers about language and education such as D. Barnes (1986), M. Torbe (1986) and D. Allwright (1988) stress the need to focus on the learner. Allwright suggests that it is possible to focus on the instructional process and the learning process simultaneously, and that this is advisable, given the fact that learning and instruction are interrelated, and that both are affected by social dynamics:

...we can usefully work on both at the same time, and preferably not in separate teams but collectively. This is what observations of naturally occurring classroom lessons make possible. We can use them to investigate learner behaviour, but in so doing we are necessarily involved in trying to make sense of instruction itself, since, following the view that classroom lessons, like any other form of interaction, are co-produced, learner behaviour is a vital part of what constitutes instruction, of what determines the learning opportunities that learners get. (Allwright, 1988:256,7)

I would agree with Allwright that research into teaching and learning can be carried out simultaneously, and that ideally, collective teams should be responsible for the work. It is in order to facilitate this simultaneity, that a case study of a class learning English together for one year was chosen as the research format for this dissertation. However, prevailing conditions did not allow for collective research. It was partly for this reason that research was carried out by a single agent: the participant observer as teacher (me), with the aid of the participants themselves and the short visits by the triangulators.

Subjectivity

A limitation of this form of participant observation is implied by the very fact that any teacher has a stake in the system and thus cannot be a totally disinterested party. This subjectivity of the teacher is compounded by the fact that the researcher, whilst not *necessarily* having a stake in the system, is also a product of his/her own beliefs, values and aspirations:

The social researcher, too, is a member of culture, mired in its history. His/her occupational language is drawn from the everyday world of practical experiences and commitments. The background assumptions sustained and developed in these patterns are "factual" constraints upon the social and moral constitution of the word. (T. Popkewitz, 1981:162)

From the above it would seem as if the subjectivity of the teacher researcher combination is necessarily negative. However, Lather's criteria for validity which are discussed below, serve as a potential antidote to the dangers of this subjectivity. In addition, it is this very stake in the system, which renders the teacher a valuable researcher. This point is stressed by L. Stenhouse (1975:157), who dismisses aspirations "towards an unattainable objectivity". He argues that the teacher's interest in improving educational situations is crucial in making research workable:

Any research into classrooms must aim to improve teaching. Thus any research must be applied by teachers, so that the most clinically objective research can only feed into practice through an interested actor in the situation. There is no escaping the fact that it is the teacher's subjective perception which is crucial for practice since he is in a position to control the classroom. (Stenhouse, 1975:157)

2.1.3 A PLURALITY OF PERSPECTIVES

This case study is concerned with the learning processes which students undergo, as well as their academic achievement in the form of final marks, i.e. the product. This is due to the simultaneous desire embodied in this dissertation to see students develop greater confidence and autonomy, on the one hand, and to see them "make it" in the present educational system, on the other. Given the multi-faceted focus of the case study, a plurality of research methods is also required. Qualitative techniques dealing with the participants' perceptions are more useful for the process-orientated aspect of the case study, whilst quantitative and statistical techniques are more conducive to a product-orientated approach. A "plurality of perspectives" in research into education is advocated by Popkewitz (1981:158), as well as Cohen and Manion (1980:26). This combination of the quantitative and the qualitative should function as a dynamic interrelationship, where *each* aspect informs on and validates or contests the findings of the other. This point will be illustrated in Chapter Seven, where students' perceptions of the teaching techniques are counter-balanced by their actual results throughout the year.

2.1.4 CRITERIA FOR VALIDITY

Dialectic Relationship with Theory

According to Lather, as well as Sharp, research as praxis must occur within a theoretically defined context:

The argument developed here concerns the necessity of spelling out the basic elements of the theory which, however implicit, itself determines the range of questions that will be generated, the method of posing the problem, decisions about what is to count as relevant data, and the political

questions arising in the course of the research. This activity is important, first because of the logical impossibility of proceeding to do any empirical work purely inductively, and second, because a conceptualization and analysis of the structure of the whole is a necessary element of understanding any part of it. (Sharp, 1981:15)

The theoretical underpinnings of this case study are outlined in the various theory chapters and it is hoped that the data chapters, (Five to Eight) enrich the theory.

Lather (1986:259) admits that such emancipatory research programmes which "disclose their value base", face the danger of "rampant subjectivity", where one merely sets out to prove what one already believes to be true. She establishes a criterion for theory building which requires that the research is "dialectical" rather than an "imposition". The formulations must articulate what the participants feel - without simultaneously perpetuating their false consciousness - and it must lay bare the contradictions, which will encourage critical awareness on the part of the participants:

In sum, the development of emancipatory social theory requires an empirical stance which is open-ended, dialogically reciprocal, grounded in respect for human capacity, and yet profoundly skeptical of appearances and "common sense". Such an empirical stance is, furthermore, rooted in a commitment to the long-term, broad-based ideological struggle to transform structural inequalities. (Lather, 1986:267)

Reciprocity

Lather argues (1986:267) that for the research to be trustworthy, a degree of reciprocity must exist: this is the ability of the research or theory to help the participants to understand and change their situations, as well as for the participants to verify and corroborate the

research before it is published. In practice this would include: "Interviews conducted in an interactive, dialogic manner, that require self-disclosure on the part of the researcher" (Lather, 1986:267); and negotiation of the meanings of research questions and reports, through recycling description or collaborating on reports.

The notion of reciprocity is similar to the approach articulated by Allwright (1988:248), who writes against "parasitic measurement studies", and suggests methods such as "diary studies", which will allow the learner to uncover variables, thus educating them via their own participation. Techniques used in the case study which aim to facilitate the learners' self-knowledge will be described in Part Two of this chapter. It will be shown in Chapter Eight that there has been some measure of reciprocity in the case study, where students have aided some aspects of the formulations of this project, have seen aspects of the project's workings as useful to themselves and have learnt about themselves and language learning through the case study. However, it will be shown that participants did not have sufficient understanding of the research project at all times.

"Construct", "Face" and "Catalytic" Validity

A third criterion for accountability in research as practice advanced by Lather (1986:270-2), and which is a form of summary of the criteria enunciated above, is "validity". She mentions "construct validity", where the researcher constantly and consciously refers back to the theory and shows how the theory is determining the outcome of the research, as well as how the fieldwork corroborates or points to weaknesses in the theory. "Face validity", or "member checks", allows participants to corroborate the findings. She also mentions "catalytic validity", which,

like reciprocity, requires the research to have an impact on the understanding of the participants and on their ability to transform their conditions.

Triangulation

A criterion for validity mentioned by Lather which is highly relevant to this case study is triangulation, which she describes as "the inclusion of multiple data sources, methods, and theoretical schemes" (1986:270). This allows for many different forms of investigation, and for the researcher to contest as well as validate his/her findings:

The researcher must consciously utilize designs that allow counterpatterns as well as convergence if data are to be credible. (Lather, 1986:270)

In terms of the case study where a variety of questions are being asked and where there is much room for subjectivity and confusion, a variety of investigative techniques and of corroboration from many sources is indispensable. It will be seen from Part Two of this chapter that a variety of investigative techniques were used to gather the data for the case study.

The term "triangulation" often refers more specifically to the inclusion of a separate observer into an interactive situation such as a classroom (Hopkins, 1985:112). This form of triangulation was also employed in the case study. Its effectiveness will be assessed in Chapter Eight.

Generalizability

For the case study to be useful in the South African context, especially where such a small sample of students is used, it needs to be generalizable. In order to do this, the findings need to be congruent with theory about

language, education and society, as well as to allow for "generalization by analogy" (G. Wehlage, 1981:214). In Chapter Eight it will be argued that given the specificity and limited size of this case study, it will only become generalizable "by analogy" once the findings have been tested by further research projects.

One criterion for generalizability of research into education is whether the research has taken into account the variety of factors and variables which operate in any non-laboratory situation, such as the relatively unpredictable or ad-hoc nature of the classroom situation:

The purpose of such observation is to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit with a view to establishing generalisations about the wider population to which that unit belongs. (Cohen and Manion, 1980:99)

2.2 PART TWO

DOCUMENTARY TECHNIQUES

It has so far been established that this research design consists of a case study, in which I functioned as the teacher and the researcher; where the focus is jointly on teaching technique, the classroom culture and language learning; where the intention is to interpret the data in relation to theory about education, society and language development. The reasons for this design were advanced in Part One of this chapter. It has also been established that a plurality of investigative techniques, both quantitative and qualitative, are to be utilised. In order to satisfy the requirements of this research design, what follows will highlight the various forms of documentation that have been used in the case study.

The Researcher's Field-notes

The field notes consist of written observations I made during class lessons, lessons after school and the communication workshops.¹ They record observations of students' verbal and non-verbal behaviour, as well as my own responses, and include reports of conversations I had with students on an ad-hoc basis after lessons. Attention was focussed on issues such as participation, group dynamics, success of specific lessons and, at points, on the apparent development of L2 students' use of English in the classroom.

Student Questionnaires.

Students were required to give written responses in class, to four sets of questionnaires, one each term. The questions were varied and were designed to elicit information about: the students' prior language learning experience; attitudes towards English; class dynamics; reactions to specific lessons; and students' sense of their own development. The questionnaires were also designed to encourage a self-aware approach to learning.²

Interviews with each Student.

An exploratory interview was conducted with each student during the first two terms of the year. These were conducted without the aid of a tape recorder and I wrote

1. See Chapter Four for an explanation of these workshops.

2. A list of questionnaires and the approximate date of each is listed in Appendix 1. Appendix 1 also contains the first questionnaire.

The data referencing system used throughout this dissertation requires a brief explanation at this point. Refer to the Appendices Contents page for a full list of the data sources that have been included in the Appendices to this dissertation. The following examples of referencing listed here will illustrate the general format used throughout the text:

(1:Q-1) Refer to Appendix 1, Questionnaire 1.

(2:I-11b) Refer to Appendix 2, Interview with student no. 11, interview b.

(See Appendix 5) Refer to the fifth Appendix.

All data from questionnaires, student writing and interviews are printed as is, with no corrections. This has been done in order to provide the reader with a sense of the students' language ability.

down the students' responses. These interviews were useful for me to assess classroom dynamics and instruction techniques, but as they were not recorded, they could not be used for quotes in the data presentation. In the second half of the year I conducted a tape-recorded interview with each student. A third interview was conducted with the L2 students towards the end of the year. Questions in the interviews focussed on general classroom issues, such as preferred forms of instruction by the students, student perceptions of their own progress, or lack of it, and specific controversial incidents which occurred inside or outside the class. Some questions were prepared beforehand, but much of the interviewing was exploratory, with space provided for students to direct the course of the discussion. A shortcoming with the interviews in terms of Lather's criterion for interactive and dialogic questioning, was the fact that the L2 students were less active in the interviews than L1 students, owing to lack of fluency in English; however, this did improve later in the year.

I also interviewed the L2 students in groups, or individually, at the end of March 1989, after they had been in matric for one term and after I had finished teaching them. ³

Student Writing

All the written work done by students throughout the year was kept or photo-copied by me. Although costly, this was useful. It served as a source of feedback, of how a student was developing, how various lessons or techniques worked and

3. A list of all interviews and an extract from a sample interview with an L1 student is contained in Appendix 2.

where particular problems of students were located. Copies of most of the written work of the L1 students were also kept and scrutinised in detail, which provided a broader perspective of the academic developments occurring in the case study. The mutual relationship between the L2 students' development of communicative competence in English and their academic development was closely examined and has provided much data for Chapter Five. Unfortunately, it was not always possible to analyse the script of an L2 student and posit the reasons for a student's poor or improved performance. This is a result of the multiplicity of possible strategies or variable rules in the interlanguage that can account for surface features. ⁴

Useful information was gleaned for the purposes of the case study from a variety of topics set as compositions for the whole class, such as "Prejudice", "Education", or topics set for the L2 students in the extra lessons, such as the essay "What I have learnt at the college this year". ⁵

On a number of occasions students were asked to write down verbal incidents, such as dramas created for the class, accounts of controversial incidents, reports of group discussions in the class or in the extra lessons, or their own version of the problems they were experiencing at the college. Much of this information had previously been delivered verbally but it was useful to have this written down, by the students themselves, as a form of corroboration of my field-notes. ⁶

Occasionally I would question students individually in order to ascertain their reasons for what they had written, or the strategies they had employed in answering a question. The

4. This point is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

5. For two examples of written work by L2 students, see Appendix 3. For the table of my responses to the L2 students' writing, see Appendix 6.

6. Two examples of this are provided in Appendix 4.

most significant of these interviews was after the June 1988 exam, when I questioned Amelia at length about her language exam paper, in which her written answers were so weak it was impossible to work out why she had written what she had. Sylvie was asked to accompany Amelia, as her English was more fluent than Amelia's. This interview was particularly informative from a research point of view. It was useful for Amelia too, as my questions encouraged her to think more critically about her exam answering technique. It is unfortunate that this research method was conducted on a once-off basis, as it contained many advantages and should have been a regular practice.

Marks of L2 Students for all Tests, Written Assignments and Term-End Exams

All marks provide a quantitative component to the research. Although they can be regarded as quantitative data, marks are themselves not objective assessments of students' work, as they rely on teachers' subjective impressions, tastes and prejudices. This is especially true of assessments of compositions. It will be shown in Chapter Seven that the whole system of marking is open to question, especially in the multilingual classroom, and that the tables themselves do not reveal significant amounts of information.⁷

Triangulators' Reports and Interviews

Three triangulators participated in the project for short spells. Wendy Walton observed one week of lessons (5 lessons x 45 minutes) in April and attended the communication workshop in March. Wendy was the Xhosa teacher at the school, and thus knew several of the L2 students who studied Xhosa. This gave her an added perspective on their behaviour in the English class, as she

7. See Chapter Seven and Appendix 6 for examples of these results.

could compare it with the Xhosa classes. Wendy made field notes of the lessons and the first communication workshop, after which she provided me with comments and a final written report.

Lufuno Nevhatulu, an M.Ed student at the University of Cape Town in 1988 and ex-lecturer in education in Venda, observed two extra lessons in August and conducted two group interviews with the L2 students on tape. As Lufuno is not a native English speaker, but is fluent in English as well as Xhosa, it was felt he might be able to facilitate a more relaxed response from the L2 speakers and to see the extra lessons from a different perspective than an English speaker. Whilst the interviews conducted by Lufuno were certainly very animated and relaxed, testifying to his non-intimidating presence, he did not get the students to reveal any surprising information. Whether this is because there was no contestatory information to be uncovered, or whether Lufuno was seen as part of the establishment, and that he would in any case pass on information to me, can only be speculated on, as the issue was not investigated in any way.

Sue Nicolson, a B.Ed. student at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in 1988, observed six lessons over four weeks in August and September. It was specially designed that she would observe a variety of lessons, including: group-work, a student lesson, chalk and talk,⁸ and students doing writing tasks collaboratively. Sue made field-notes, conducted one interview with Sylvie, Nonsipho and Sanni, and provided me with two written reports. Sue was working on a project with the Education Faculty at UWC to assess action research work conducted by teachers, and was thus able to utilise her observations for her own work as well. As a result of her research and past experience as a teacher, Sue was particularly skilled as an observer of the classroom

8. These methods are explained in Chapter Four.

situation. She interviewed me for her project on a number of occasions, thus stimulating further questions and issues for me to think about. ⁹

Report-Back of Research in Progress to the Students

A type-written report of the research in progress was provided for the class in August 1988. I introduced the report to the students, who then discussed it in groups. Each group noted down their discussion and reported back orally to the whole class. A plenary discussion then ensued. Unfortunately, much of the richness of the group discussions was not captured by either the written group reports or the plenary discussion. A tape recorder for each group would have been useful on this occasion. However, the students were able to contribute their own perceptions of the project, as well as to articulate some of their own misunderstandings. Their comments were useful as a form of "member check", and were incorporated into the findings where appropriate. ¹⁰

Videos.

I believed that tape recordings and video sessions of the lessons would be too obtrusive. As these lessons were conducted every day, they would disturb the field, and would require much effort and finance to organize on a daily basis. However, the third communication workshop included a practice session on how to use the video recorder. This event was recorded, yielding useful information. After this workshop I interviewed the L2 students who were present and this was video-recorded. This recording session was particularly stilted and students were unresponsive.

9. Extracts from Sue's report are contained in Appendix 5.

10. A copy of the report is contained in Appendix 7. For a reference to "member checks", see Part One of this chapter.

confirming the notion that this medium was intimidating. One lesson in November was specifically organized to be video-recorded.¹¹ This session yielded useful information about group-work and language learning. Students were shown the video afterwards and were given an opportunity to discuss it. This fostered the students' awareness of themselves as learners. It also served as a form of "member check".

Ad-hoc Mini-Surveys

Occasionally it would be necessary to question a small group of students about an incident, for example: a communication workshop; or a lesson conducted in the extra lessons on Ted Hughes' poem "Thought Fox", immediately prior to conducting a lesson on the same poem to the whole class. These were useful in terms of further planning of lessons.

Comments by Staff Members at the College

Teachers at Southern Suburbs College showed interest in the case study and occasionally offered insights about the class or specific students. These comments were extremely useful and encouraging of the work being done. They were incorporated into my thinking about the project. However, their informality makes it difficult to use these comments as quotable data for the purposes of the case study.

The research design of the case study has now been described in detail. Chapters Three and Four further outline the theoretical underpinnings of the case study, as regards language learning and language teaching. The data in Chapters Five to Eight should reflect upon this theory and enrich it, thus complying with Lather's criteria for validity.

11. Extracts from a transcript of this lessons are contained in Appendix 4.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT OF SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

In traditional and institutionally legitimated approaches to reading, writing, and second-language learning, language issues are primarily defined by technical and developmental concerns. (Giroux and McLaren, 1986:230)

3.1.1 Language, Ideology and Power

Second Language Acquisition (SLA) has unfortunately been dominated very much by a traditional, elitist paradigm (Graman, 1988:439), even though it has been discussed from an ostensibly apolitical vantage point, where social and class differences are not taken into account. Such theory is in fact not neutral and scientific, but "normative" (Bourne, 1988:87). This normative content is masked as the theory is mostly defined by the technical and developmental concerns referred to in the above quote by Giroux and McLaren, according to whom, language issues *ought* to be located "within the perspective of a cultural politics" (1986:231). As we have seen from Chapter One, issues of language, society and education in South Africa are interlinked and language, or SLA theory, cannot be discussed in a vacuum. I shall now attempt to show how issues of language learning, society and schooling are interconnected.

In terms of first language acquisition, it is maintained by linguists such as N. Chomsky (1972:28) that language learning is a natural process for which humans have an innate ability, and that the process occurs along certain predictable lines. The emphasis on innateness in Chomsky's view is contested by writers such as L. Vygotsky, who stresses the social influences on language:

Verbal thought is not an innate, natural form of behaviour but is determined by a historical-cultural process and laws that cannot be bound in the natural forms of thought and speech.
(Vygotsky, 1962:51)

I would argue that whilst the ability to learn language is innate and possibly rule governed, historical-cultural processes determine to a large extent the way language is used, and thus learnt. Styles of language and functions accorded to aspects of language, such as reading or writing, vary among different communities. This has been illustrated by S. Heath's study of three American working and middle class communities (1983) and has been re-iterated by writers such as Martin-Jones and Romaine, who write:

Communicative competence is differentially shaped in relation to patterns of language use, as well as community attitudes and beliefs about competence. (Martin-Jones and Romaine, 1986:34)

Moreover, language is an integral element of culture, it is shaped by, and shapes, that culture:

It is through language that we come to consciousness and negotiate a sense of identity, since language does not merely reflect reality, but plays an active role in constructing it. As language constructs meaning, it shapes our world, informs our identities, and provides the cultural codes for perceiving and classifying the world.
(Giroux and McLaren, 1986:230)

Culture is itself a product or expression of a class or community. Furthermore, dominant classes utilise their power to maintain their culture as hegemonic:

Culture involves power and helps to produce asymmetries in the abilities of individual and social groups to define and realise their needs.
(D. Macedo quoting R. Johnson in P. Freire, 1987:51)

3.1.2 Language in the Schools

R. Sharp sees ideology as "having a material reality embedded in practices and routines", for example, in institutions such as the school. Class inequalities are legitimized in the schools, but remain hidden and unrecognized (Sharp, 1980:126,7).

S. Romaine (1984:227) shows how schools, dominated by the middle classes, neglect the uses or functions of speech and writing in the community; and they narrow down definitions of literacy or of the standards of speech to be used. These narrowed definitions are then "discontinuous with everyday experiences with language", and they discriminate against children who do not come from the middle classes. The responsibility for this lies with society at large, and with the system of education in class-divided societies:

As long as the school reinforces society's present definition of literacy and its standards and measures of language proficiency, it acts as a gatekeeper. (Romaine, 1984:249)

Much of the research into the "mismatch" of language styles and codes used in the community and the school has been done by researchers in Britain and America, where the linguistic styles and codes of working class communities have been contrasted with those of the school (S. Heath, 1983; W. Labov, 1972; S. Romaine, 1984). Romaine (1984:11) states that the three most important influences on the language of a child are the family, peer group and the school. Research has been done into non-Western communities, such as American Indian or South Pacific groups (referred to in Romaine, 1984), where it has been shown how the codes and styles of language use, as well as of learning, have been discontinuous with the norms of the Western, middle class school systems. Thus these discontinuities are determined by class differences, but also by the specific experiences

of different communities within different classes. In addition, in some communities more than others, gender also determines language use and learning behaviour (A. Wolpe, 1989; R. Deem, 1986; W. Labov, 1972).

I would argue that in the South African context, class differences certainly affect students directly, as they have done in Britain or America. However, these class-bound inequalities are not always evident (A. Morris, 1986:23) as they are masked by the racial definition of the educational authorities. There are many specificities in the local situation which need to be teased out, especially with regard to black students who have spent many years at DET schools. Muller (1986:187) says that the problems in South Africa are "unique". He shows, for example, how the students at DET schools whom he observed were eager to learn, and thus cannot be compared with working class students in Britain, who are traditionally described as unmotivated and alienated from the system.

At present we know that the language style of students who have been schooled for several years at DET schools will have been influenced by language use in the home, the school and amongst peers. Whilst some research has been done into the kind of language use students have experienced at school, (discussed in Chapter Five) this is not exhaustive and I know of no such investigations into the language styles and codes, or attitudes towards language in the communities to which these students belong. Thus we cannot establish the specific experience of language use and learning of these students, and how this differs from their experience at school. However, there is sufficient literature at present to support the statement that DET students are doubly discriminated against, owing to class-related differences, and having to learn through the medium

of a second language and in conditions which are inadequate, as described in Chapter Five.

3.1.3 Implications for the Case Study

The above points about language and schooling have important implications for the student learning a second language and in a second language in the South African context, especially when they move across from a DET school to an "English" institution. We cannot assume that for students to pass from one system of education to another is merely a question of swapping one standard language for another, or that it can be discussed purely in "technical or developmental concerns" (Giroux and McLaren, 1986:230). The points made above about differential uses of language and attitudes towards language, affect students in multilingual classes, as Martin-Jones and Romaine indicate:

Certain types of bilingualism can, however, become problematic when a society perceives certain complexes of skills as "inadequate" or "inappropriate" relative to the things that have to be done and the conventionalized linguistic means for doing so. Our concern is with the way in which power relations within society (and within the schools in particular) regulate linguistic performance in context. (Martin-Jones and Romaine, 1986:35)

Thus any attempt to intervene in the learning process of L2 students must take into account the social context of education, and not merely focus on improving teaching techniques.

This section has located SLA amongst the broader issues of ideology and schooling. The next section looks at SLA itself, and its relevance for L2 students in the multilingual classroom.

3.2 SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION THEORY

The literature on SLA will be addressed with two broad questions in mind, the first being:

What do we need to know about SLA theory in order to understand the situation of the L2 students in the multilingual class, and to interpret their linguistic output and development?

This question will be referred to whenever relevant information is uncovered in this chapter. The second question is:

What do we need to know about SLA in order to orientate our teaching in the multilingual class to cater for the needs of the L2 learner?

The groundwork for this question will be covered in this chapter, but teaching technique will be discussed specifically in Chapter Four.

3.2.1 The Limitations of SLA Theory

Theory is often used to protect us from the awesome complexity of the world. (P. Lather, 1986: 267)

The above statement is particularly apt with reference to SLA research, where so much speculation and use of "metaphors" (B. McLaughlin, 1987:6) has covered up the fact that this is an area of investigation where very little about the acquisition of second language learners can be posited with much certainty. R. Ellis (1986:286) talks about the language learner's internal processes as the "black box", and shows with an illustration how the utterances of the learners could be interpreted in terms of a variety of different strategies. D. Allwright argues that SLA research may have hindered research in that it:

...has fostered what is in some respects a fundamentally asocial view of the language acquisition process, at a time when educational

research in other fields has been busy accommodating itself to a thoroughly social view of classroom learning. (Allwright, 1988:257)

Allwright (1988:256) suggests that research should focus on the instructional process as well as the learning process, and a good place to do this is the classroom, where the interaction between learner and instructor is to some extent co-produced. However, even here Allwright sounds a note of caution, as studying objectively observable characteristics of the learners will not necessarily enable the researcher to penetrate the deeper processes of language acquisition. J. Bourne supports a more socially orientated research form and argues, with specific reference to multilingual classes in Britain, that the social position of the speaker will affect both form and meaning:

The classroom is not a bell-jar in which linguistic processes can be examined separately from society without missing most of the meanings involved in taking up one sort of linguistic identity rather than another. (Bourne, 1988:93)

Very little SLA theory addresses the social aspects of language acquisition, and it is thus inadequate in places.

Most of the SLA theory referred to in this dissertation is drawn from the "Variable Competence Model" as described by R. Ellis, who points out (1986:270) that much work needs to be done to flesh out different aspects of this model. He notes, however, that the value of this theory is that it explains the variability of the interlanguage of L2 speakers. Thus the links between SLA and social processes can be inserted by researchers. This model also accounts for the external, as well as internal, mental processes responsible for SLA, and is therefore appropriate for research on language acquisition in the educational context.

3.2.2 Interlanguage Theory

The L2 student possesses a learner language known as an "interlanguage", which consists of interim systems, "a series of overlapping stages" (Ellis, 1986:63). Over time these systems become more complex, as new rules are added to the L2 learner's knowledge. Ellis notes that the learners pass through certain broad stages of development, which are possibly the same as for first language acquisition. One sign of the continual revising of the interlanguage and of the "hypothesis testing process" is the presence or production of errors.

Ellis states that acknowledging the significance of errors "has had important pedagogical repercussions" (1986:73). This is directly applicable in the multilingual class, in which the teacher needs to have some understanding of the stages a second language learner goes through, and needs to be able to discern when errors are in fact the sign of language experimentation and growth, rather than an indication of lack of linguistic development. This point will be crucial when we look at the development of the L2 learners in Chapter Seven, because traditionally in English L1 classes, marks are subtracted individually or globally for syntactic, spelling or punctuation errors.¹ A new system of marking which acknowledges that errors can have a positive significance for L2 students needs to be implemented in multilingual classes.

Ellis (1986:76) has made a useful contribution to interlanguage theory by refining a model of "systematic variability", which incorporates the work of writers such as Hymes or Labov (Ellis, 1986:77). This model (figure 1)

1. I do not have a reference for this from the National Senior Certificate, but this is the practice amongst English teachers at the Southern Suburbs College, as well as the previous schools at which I have taught.

explains why a L2 learner will vary their use of the forms of the new language, sometimes using them correctly in terms of the standard, and sometimes not.

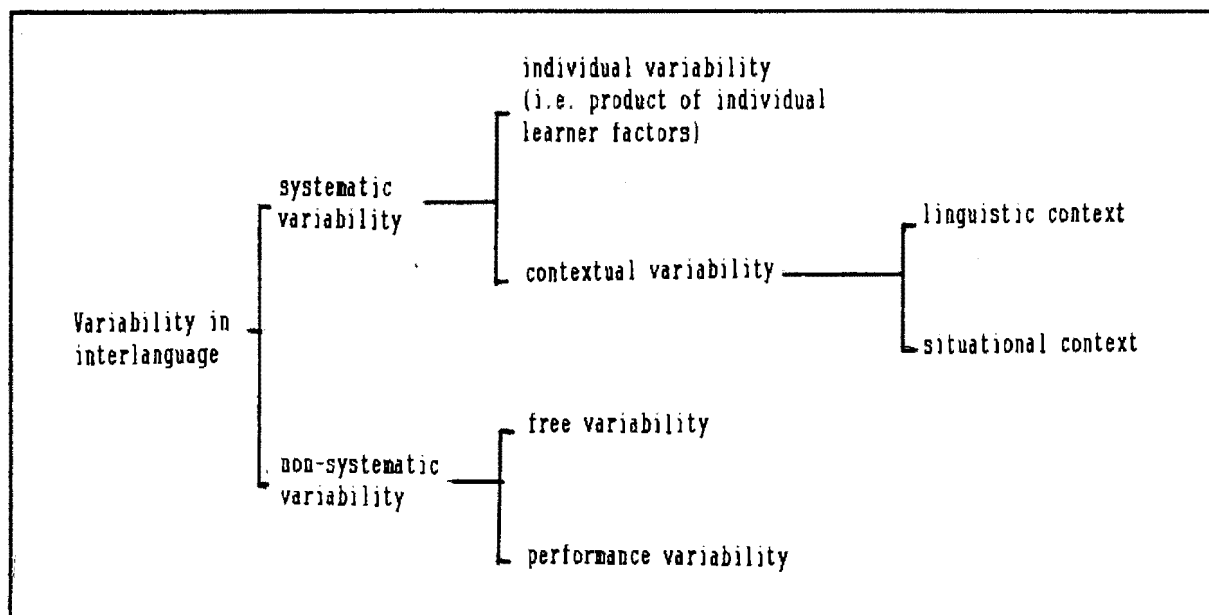


Figure One: Types of variability in language learner language (Ellis, 1986:76)

Ellis demonstrates that sometimes this variation is haphazard or related to the performance of the student, for example to factors like nervousness or mood (free variability). The learners determine some of the variable factors themselves, and this will be examined in the section of this chapter on individual learner factors. What is particularly useful here are the references to contextual variability, especially to the situational context. Here three points emerge: firstly, forms vary according to the style of the speaker. Sometimes this is in terms of chosen style, for example, whether it is conversational and casual, or formal. This is in part explained by a continuum from careful, or planned discourse, to unplanned, or "vernacular" discourse. In the early stages of language acquisition, an L2 speaker will rely far more on planned discourse than a more advanced L2 student. When using the careful style, an L2 speaker will use more standard language rules than when

using the vernacular style. This will explain why a L2 student is able to learn all the grammar rules in the book, but will make lots of mistakes when talking the language. Ellis quotes research (1986:83) to show that forms will pass from the careful style of a L2 speaker with automatization over time to the vernacular. To pose "careful" and "vernacular" as opposites is problematic, as it assumes that the careful style is the standard, whereas many students in a multilingual class form rules on the basis of the non-standard English around them (J. Bourne, 1988:87).

An additional continuum occurs between simple linguistic contexts, to more complex contexts. Clearly if a speaker is attempting to say more and is using more complex language, s/he will vary her linguistic forms more than when what s/he is attempting to say is simple. This would explain why certain L2 students in the case study had such difficulty in the multilingual class where complex topics, such as whether man has free choice, were discussed, or when having to explain complex thoughts and feelings in the interviews which I conducted.

Another set of distinctions viewed as continua are those between analysed and unanalysed knowledge, and between automatic and controlled knowledge (Ellis, 1988:235). Ellis describes controlled knowledge as processing which "requires active attention", and automatic knowledge as processing which occurs "without active control or attention". The more advanced the L2 learner is, according to Ellis, the more access s/he will have to automatic knowledge, which follows from the use of controlled knowledge. This is crucial for the development of the L2 learner in the case study, because if the learner does not have sufficient access to automatic knowledge, s/he will not be able to perform the linguistically demanding tasks which require both access to the surface features of the language, as well

as attention to complex content. It has been noted that lack of automaticity can lead to the L2 student not being able to process a message (either when receiving or producing a message) which leads to communicative breakdown (Nagle and Saunders, 1986:16). Alternatively, if there is a short-term memory overload, correct forms of language will be used less often. These factors explain, for example, why L2 students may have difficulty writing an exam in the prescribed time limit, and may become "overloaded" and write poorly expressed answers.

The process of gaining "analysed knowledge" (Ellis, 1986:238) has its advantages in the multilingual classroom:

The learner who has gained analysed knowledge is able to operate on it by transforming it, comparing it, and using it for problem solving. (Ellis, 1986:238)

This relates directly to the case study class, where L2 students, like L1 students, need to be able to answer questions in exams about the appropriacy or correctness of certain statements, and need to be able to correct their own writing as much as possible.

Ellis states (1986:239) that there is no value judgement being placed on the continuum between analysed and unanalysed knowledge, but it will be clear from the case study that the reason why the multilingual class studying English as a first language places such high demands on the L2 learner, is that this learner needs a great deal of analysed knowledge, as well as automatic knowlege.

Ellis also stresses (1986:238) that different kinds of knowledge are required for different language functions or styles. This has important implications for the bilingual class, where students are required to use a variety of styles, from the vernacular with schoolfriends, to the

careful in exams and compositions. In other words, the multilingual classroom has to provide the L2 students with as wide a variety of language tasks and styles as possible. We shall see what problems occur in this regard in Chapters Five and Eight, as the language classroom has not been known for its richness in providing sufficient opportunities for language practice (D. Barnes, 1975; D. Allwright, 1988; A. Edwards, 1976). Because of the demands of the first language syllabus, students need practice in reading and writing in English, not just in talking in the target language. Thus the primacy of interpersonal, communicative and spoken language referred to by writers such as C. Edelsky et al (1983:4), even S. Krashen (1981:77), is not appropriate in the multilingual class. This is why the "Variable Competence Model" as outlined by Ellis (1986:269) is useful, with the stress it lays on a variety of processes used by the language learner in a variety of contexts.

3.2.3 Internal Learner Strategies for Acquisition and Production

Of particular interest to the language teacher in the multilingual classroom, is Ellis' model of types of L2 knowledge and learner strategies (figure 2). Ellis shows how the learner also possesses social strategies for managing the interaction, as well as cognitive strategies for learning the L2, and for using the L2. Social strategies will depend on the learners, who will decide how to interact, partly on the basis of personal factors such as motivation or inhibition, and will best be referred to in the section in this chapter on individual learner factors.

The cognitive strategies for learning the L2, as described in the model, have much explanatory value for the language teacher. These have been described as hypothesis formulation, hypothesis testing and automatization

processes. Hypothesis formulation can either occur naturalistically, or through direct, formal teaching. Ellis stresses the importance of language use, thus practice, in order to facilitate more language acquisition: it is surely through receptive or productive use that the L2 speaker tests hypotheses, and through use that the knowledge becomes automatic. Thus practice of different styles and forms of language use is essential in multilingual classes.

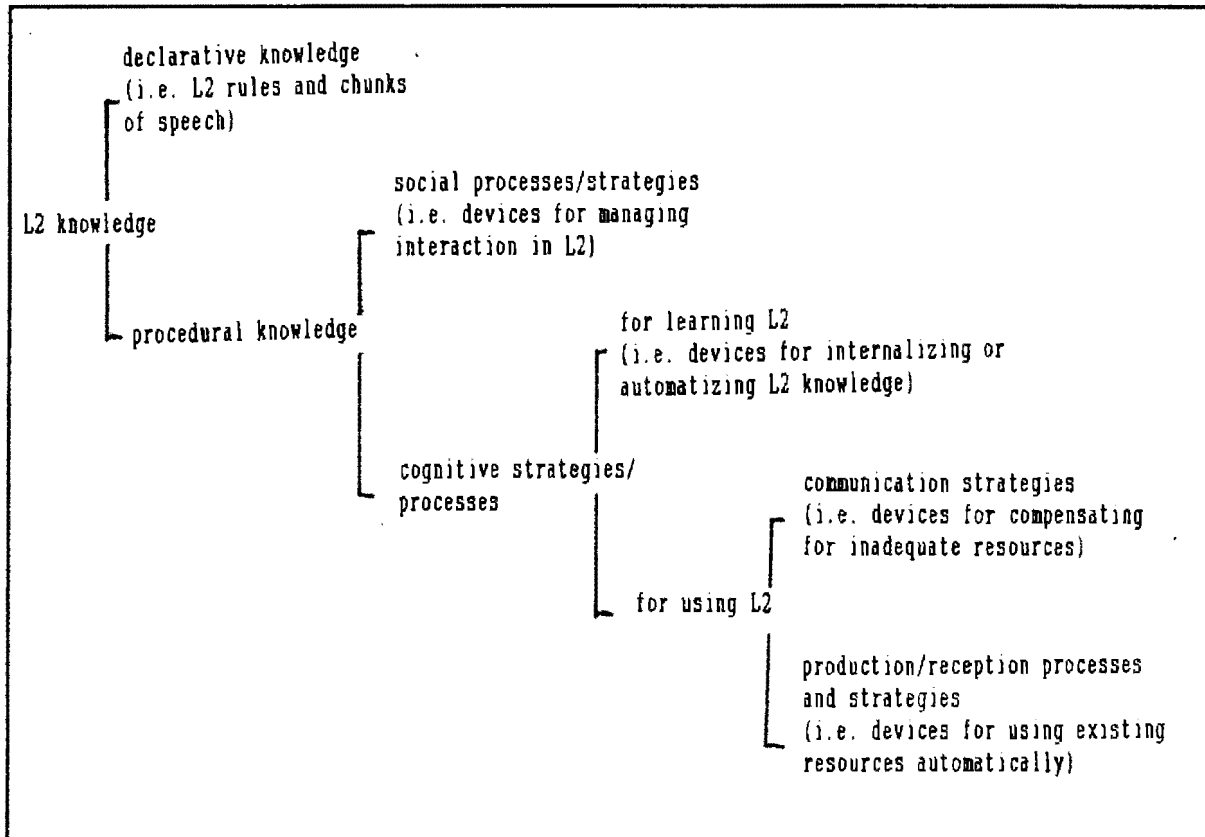


Figure Two: Types of L2 Knowledge (Ellis, 1986:165)

3.2.4 Classroom Applications for the Model of Learner Strategies

One interesting element from Ellis' model of L2 knowledge and learner strategies is the major use of "formulaic speech" (Ellis, 1986:169) or unanalysed chunks in early SLA.

before the speaker begins to use the rules of their interlanguage creatively, generating new sentences or phrases. This description of early SLA is useful for the teacher, who is often bemused to find learned chunks of speech, or the reliance on copied chunks, in the writing of L2 students, as in the case study.

Also useful is the notion of "communication strategies" which are used when the learner "lacks or cannot gain access to the linguistic resources required to express an intended meaning" (Ellis, 1986:181). Examples of these would be a speaker avoiding certain speech acts, translating literally from their first language or using non-linguistic gestures. This description of communication strategies can help the teacher or researcher to understand more clearly the processes at work when an L2 student attempts to communicate in the multilingual classroom. Unfortunately, explanations of strategies utilised by L2 speakers for learning or production in the second language - especially for production - leave a great deal unexplained, partly because structures in a learner's interlanguage can be accounted for in so many ways, and partly because these theories need to be fleshed out in far more detail than at present.

3.2.5 Shortcomings of the "Variable Competence Model"

In terms of appropriateness to the multilingual class situation, SLA theory seems to have concentrated largely on syntax and morphology, and has neglected areas such as vocabulary and idiom, which are crucial aspects of the development of the more advanced L2 student. M. Saville-Troike emphasizes the central role vocabulary plays in the academic achievement of L2 speakers:

Vocabulary knowledge in English is the most important aspect of oral proficiency for academic achievement. Vocabulary taught in ESL should therefore be related as closely as possible to students' learning needs in their subject matter classes. (Saville-Troike, 1984:215)

The "Variable Competence Model" allows for a variety of language tasks and demands, but it does not deal with literacy skills specifically, or their relationship to SLA. Cummins and Swain (1986:56) deal with literacy skills and SLA with their distinctions between Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive-Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). They maintain (1983:36) that this distinction has helped clarify confusion about the grading of immigrant students in American schools, in that it stops educationists from assuming that when a second language speaker can communicate effectively on an interpersonal level, s/he or she can automatically do so at an academic level in the L2. Whilst this claim is fair, it has been pointed out by writers such as S. Romaine (1984) and C. Edelsky et al (1983) that there cannot be an absolute distinction between communicative skills and academic proficiency, as communicative skills are required for academic proficiency. This will be borne out in the case study in Chapter Five, where communicative skills intervene in the development of the L2 students' academic progress.

Furthermore, the claim that CALP is independent of the learner's language, and is transferable from one language to another, has also been contested by Romaine, who notes that:

...the skills which comprise CALP are bound up with culture-specific types of literacy and experience with the written language... the effects of literacy are in turn connected with those of schooling. (Romaine, 1984:228)

This point is developed by Bourne, (1988:93) who describes language as "a motley of rules, socio-historically evolved,

institutionalized in writing." If this is the case then the social origins of the students need to be taken into account, as well as the social connections of the written forms of the second language which they are supposed to learn.

I would not go as far as Edelsky et al (1983:16) who accuse Cummins and Swain of propagating a "deficit theory" of competence but I would agree that their notion of CALP as interdependent is problematic. In conclusion, it can be stated that Ellis' description of SLA is inadequate for the purposes of L2 teaching, in that it does not address the relationship between SLA, literacy and the language learner's social origins, and that the BICS/CALP distinction is not a satisfactory alternative.

3.2.6 Individual Learner Factors

References have been made above to individual variations in behaviour which affect SLA. This is another aspect of SLA theory where much theorising and speculation has occurred. Despite the fact that these variations are an important factor in SLA, there is little, if any empirically proven correlation, between these variations and learner success. One problem is how to establish whether some of the factors exist for a student, such as motivation or inhibition and, if they do, the extent to which these factors, as opposed to any others, are definitively affecting the success of SLA of that student. The factors themselves are not quantifiable, nor is their relationship to success clearly demonstrable. It might be worthwhile to comment on the range of learner factors mentioned by Ellis and others, and to add one or two of my own. These are interesting and add to our understanding of the L2 student's acquisition, even though they are unlikely to lead to any hard and fast generalizations. They will also provide some explanation of

why certain L2 students in the case study progress more successfully than others, and thus of the findings referred to in Chapter Seven.

Ellis (1986:99) argues that these learner factors are more likely to affect the rate and success, rather than the route of SLA. He notes that these factors involve affective, cognitive and social elements, to different degrees. One distinction is between general factors, which are common to all L2 learners, and personal factors, which are idiosyncratic, and difficult to observe.

A set of personal factors which is highly relevant to the case study is "group dynamics", where L2 students compare themselves to other students, with the result that their self-image is either negatively affected, or enhanced. I noted in my field-notes that this set of factors affected the more successful L2 learners rather than the less successful ones, in positive as well as negative ways. For example, the competitiveness in the class encouraged Sanni, but discouraged Sylvie.

Ellis (1986:103) lists attitudes towards the teacher and course materials as a personal factor affecting learner success. Learners do have preferences for different styles of teaching, but this is partly allied to their reasons for doing the course. In the case study, for example, an L2 student such as Sanni, who wanted to go to university, would not have been annoyed by the academic nature of the English, concentrating as it does on setwork and analysis of style. On the other hand, an L2 student like Gudrun, who was not particularly concerned with results, and simply wanted to learn to talk English, was most put off by the English syllabus. ²

2. Information obtained from interviews and my field-notes.

A third set of factors is "individual learning techniques", (Ellis, 1986:103) where students determine how they practise the language outside the classroom, or how they go over their work. This set of factors is relevant in the case study, where some L2 students sought out opportunities to practise English more than others. This is another area where I found accurate observation difficult.

One general factor referred to by countless researchers is the relationship of age to SLA (V. Collier, 1987; C. Burstall, 1979; Cummins and Swain, 1986; Ellis, 1986.) Burstall (1979:139) and Cummins and Swain (1986:56) point out that age is not that important for SLA, but stress that the length of time is: it takes roughly two years to reach near native proficiency in interpersonal, communicative skills, whereas for a student to reach near native proficiency for academic purposes takes roughly seven years (Cummins and Swain, 1986:45). The only area where age has a definite impact, appears to be with regard to accent, where younger L2 learners adopt the accent of the second language more successfully (J. Flege, 1987:175; Ellis, 1986:110).

On the basis that length of time using or studying a second language is more important than age, it would seem that the earlier a student learns in the multilingual situation, the better, as this provides the student with more access over time to the language. From this point of view it is clearly a problem for many L2 students to arrive in a multilingual situation in standard nine, as occurred with many of the L2 students in the case study. However, I would also agree with Cummins and Swain (1986:48) that a student with greater academic maturity will be able to adapt to learning a new language, or in a new language more quickly than a student who is academically less mature. This explains why some L2 students require more time in the multilingual situation to adapt than others, as was evident in the case study, where

Sanni was in a multilingual class for the first time, but progressed more rapidly than Sylvie or Nosipho, who had been in a multilingual class for three and two years respectively.

According to Ellis (1986:111) intelligence is more likely to affect the development of academic skills in the L2, than the development of naturalistically acquired, interpersonal and communicative skills in the target language. This seems intuitively sound, but as there are no facilities for intelligence testing at the college, and as intelligence testing is in itself a problematic area in terms of its culture-bound norms, the intelligence of L2 students in the case study was not established in any objective way. Another quality which is difficult to define or establish in a learner is a specific "aptitude" for language learning. As an intuitive notion this is highly appealing, but I would agree with Ellis (1986:113) that the term needs to be defined more carefully.

A useful variable, but one which is complex and difficult to measure, is motivation. Ellis (1986:119) has several interesting points to make about motivation, one of which is that it is often not clear whether motivation affects successful learning, or successful learning which affects motivation. He explains how motivation can be influenced by the teacher, because so much motivation is influenced by communicative or academic success:

Motivation that is dependent on the learner's learning goal is far less amenable to influence by the teacher than motivation that derives from a sense of academic or communicative success. In the case of the latter, motivation can be developed by careful selection of learning tasks both to achieve the right level of complexity to create opportunities for success and to foster intrinsic interest. (Ellis, 1986:119)

This point is crucial for the multilingual class, where it is only sometimes possible to create these opportunities for success. Where these opportunities for success relate to methods of assessment, this might backfire in the long-term, as marking does not necessarily cater for the L2 learner's development. This will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

Personality factors, such as extroversion/introversion, social skills or inhibition are also mentioned by Ellis (1986:120), who states that these traits are difficult to identify and measure in any L2 learner. I would agree with Ellis that these traits are more likely to affect the development of communicative competence than of academic skills. We do need to note, however, that there is not a total division between communicative and academic skills, and that social or affective factors will have an impact on academic development. This is more evident in oral, interactive situations such as group-work, where an extroverted student might practise English, or ask for help with a task, and thus benefit academically. This point will be illustrated in Chapters Five and Six. Thus the concept of personality cannot be dismissed entirely.

Two factors which are not mentioned by the research literature, but which have emerged from the case study, are: passivity/initiative, for example whether a student is actively prepared to express needs to the teacher or L1 students directly. The adoption of an active stance is particularly significant in the context of learning in a second language, as J. Millar points out:

...a second language learned and used only in school can feel like a language of passivity, acceptance, attention, listening... (Millar, 1983:9).

Another skill not mentioned in the literature, and which is very important in the multilingual class, is the ability to transfer skills or knowledge from one subject or learning situation to another. This was demonstrated in the case study by Sanni, who for example was given practice in the Economics class with putting textbook material into her own words. She indicated in interviews and questionnaires that she utilized this skill in English.

Once again, it must be noted that in the multilingual classroom, social background and earlier language learning experience of the student are highly relevant as individual learner factors, and must be borne in mind when these individual learner factors are investigated. Prior learning experience will be explored in more detail in Chapter Five. It would be crude to quantify or posit precisely the class background of the small group of L2 students in the case study, so an exact correlation of class background and success will not be attempted, suffice it to say that this is a major feature influencing the development of the academic skills of L2 students.

Another important socio-cultural feature which must be mentioned is that of ~~gender~~, alluded to at the beginning of this chapter. All the L2 students in the case study are girls, and this has had a definite bearing on their learner behaviour in the classroom. They were less assertive and more inhibited than other groups of L2 students I have taught at the college.

So far this chapter has dealt with the learner's internal processes as well as their individually varying learner characteristics. It is also necessary for the teacher to have an understanding of the impact of external factors, such as instruction and interaction, on the L2 student's

linguistic development. The next section deals with the kinds of interaction conducive to SLA.

3.2.7 External Factors: Interaction and Input

Ellis argues (1986:129) that there is a dynamic interplay between internal learner strategies as well as external factors, namely the input, to account for SLA. He states rather tentatively that the quantity and the quality of the input a L2 student receives are important. The value he places on interaction has important implications for the teacher of the multilingual class:

Strong claims have been advanced that SLA is aided by two-way communication in which comprehensible input is provided by means of interactional adjustments. However, two-way communication is not a necessary condition for SLA, nor is it sufficient. (Ellis, 1986:162)

This means that all aspects of the SLA cannot be accounted for by manipulation of the linguistic environment. However, it does mean that if there is much two-way communication, in which the native speaker is required to adjust the message until it is clear, this will aid the SLA as well as the academic development of the L2 student. This is an argument which stresses the value of student-centred classes. Ellis points out (1986:160) that multilingual classes are appropriate for a more student-centred approach, where there will be much two-way communication between L1 and L2 speakers. (If the class contains L2 students only, this approach is not as useful.) This argument can also be used in favour of a longer-term form of interaction between teacher and L2 students, for example, where the teacher obtains feedback from L2 students with questionnaires or interviews, and uses this information to make input more comprehensible. It is clear from the above that interaction which facilitates language learning as well as the teacher's

diagnostic ability, is necessary in the multilingual class. Unfortunately interaction is often discouraged by the group dynamics in multilingual classes, as will be illustrated in Chapter Six.

The argument for interaction is also supported by the need for comprehensible output or production, a point made by Cummins and Swain (1986:117). It is partly through two-way interaction that L2 students get to test their hypotheses and to automatize their knowledge of the L2. The term "interaction" is usually seen as a vocal, active process, but I would argue that this is not the same for every student. Some students manage better with relatively little interaction in the form of conversation, for example, but are interactive in their approach to texts or writing. M. Saville-Troike (1984:215) reports that emphasis on interpersonal communication may inhibit academic achievement in certain cases, and D. Allwright argues that active negotiation can affect some learners negatively:

...the process of negotiation may inhibit some learners, to the extent that they will learn more when not actively involved in the negotiation process. (Allwright, 1988:252)

Allwright (1988:252) argues that language lessons provide opportunities for some students to "attend to" - rather than to negotiate - "whatever it is that classroom interaction makes available as input". Examples of students who engage in much negotiation and verbal communication but who do not progress as much as quieter students, have also been advanced by Saville-Troike (1984:210). This does not mean that interactive classrooms are not important; rather, it implies that the same amount of direct, verbal interaction is not equally useful for all students, especially in an academic environment. Interactive teaching methods are discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, and students'

responses to these methods in the case study are presented in Chapter Seven.

3.2.8 The Benefit of Formal Instruction

An important question for the teaching of L2 students, is whether formal instruction, especially of grammatical forms, is useful for SLA. Ellis (1986:245) maintains that formal instruction does not affect the route of SLA. This would be particularly so in a multilingual class, where L2 students would have access to English on a daily basis, and would thus be practising using the language regularly. M. Sharwood Smith (1986:246) and A. Sorace (1985:252) argue for the usefulness of formal instruction in certain situations, and Ellis (1986:246) states that it does affect the success of SLA, but in a relative, not absolute sense. He maintains that instruction must consider the specific goals of the learner, and must match these with the appropriate form of knowledge. For example, in the multilingual classroom where the L2 students require a body of analysed knowledge of the language, formal instruction is required. Students will also find analysed knowledge useful when having to correct their own written work. Formal language lessons are also beneficial in that they provide practice and informal conversation, as well as encourage a general attention to form. Ellis (1986:89) states that L2 students benefit from the cognitively simple tasks common in such lessons, where they are able to focus more directly on linguistic forms, to practise and automatize these. Formal instruction for L2 students who find themselves in multilingual classes, has been shown in some cases to encourage motivation.

The question then arises, how much is formal instruction in English a priority for L2 students in the case study? It must be borne in mind that these students have already imbibed a heavy dose of formal instruction in their previous

schools, thus this should not be seen as a primary need. However, L2 students suddenly thrust into the multilingual environment do need more linguistically undemanding practice and attention to the forms of the target language than L1 students. On the basis of the above information it would seem that L2 students do need special classes where, amongst other things, some form of language teaching is provided, but not necessarily a mechanical, strictly formal tuition. L2 students' responses in the case study to special classes are discussed in Chapter Seven. Once again, the neglect of areas like vocabulary and idiomatic usage by SLA theory makes itself felt, as it would be useful to know how helpful formal language classes are seen to be in terms of providing these skills.

3.2.9 Ground-rules of the Academic System

Another factor neglected by SLA theorists is that of the skills required for studying academic topics via the medium of a second language. Examples of the skills required by L2 students studying English as an academic subject in the case study are: reading unseen poetry or structuring formal written pieces. Many researchers argue for the importance of making L2 students aware of the strategies they use, or ought to use (A. Wenden, 1986:199; J. 'O Malley et al, 1985:576). This idea is related to the notion of the "ground-rules" of an academic discourse as discussed by Edwards and Mercer, (1987:46) who state that middle class students are consciously or unconsciously aware of these rules, and that teachers have to make these rules available to the working class students as well. This requirement can be extended to a multilingual class as well, especially the case study class, where in addition to speaking a variety of home languages, the students come from a variety of class backgrounds.

Writers such as L. Delpit (1986:384) argue that one can focus on fluency and creativity alone, if one is dealing with students who have already developed these skills in their earlier or home learning experience. She maintains that students who come from backgrounds where literacy-related skills cannot be assumed, must be taught these at school. However, she does state that this focus on skills must be combined with an emphasis on creativity, not one to the exclusion of the other. This point is also directly applicable to the case study class. In a local context, C. Soudien et al (1989:11) argue that an approach focussed on skills is in fact more difficult for students who have been used to a rote learning situation typical of DET schools. However, this does not obviate the need for such skills training. A Khanya College paper (1988) showed, for example, how an emphasis on skills training was facilitated by a student-centred, peer learning approach, and how this was advantageous to the academic performance of the students.

I would argue that a focus on skills is useful, but that as with formal instruction, it will benefit some students more than others. An overtly skills-orientated approach combined with a creative, or student-centred, interactive technique, is appropriate to the multilingual class, and should in fact be encouraged.

A crucial question which has not been addressed in the SLA literature, and which needs to be answered for the multilingual class, is: what is the relative priority of skills and strategy training, and that of vocabulary and idiomatic familiarity with the L2? In the case study it will be illustrated that these communicative and academic elements cannot be isolated; however, which should be given more attention, and at what stage? Their interdependence will be highlighted in Chapter Five.

3.2.10 Implications of SLA Theory for the Multilingual Classroom

In sum, we see that although there is much that SLA theory cannot explain or prove, it does provide us with some clues of the process the L2 student undergoes in the multilingual class. This is most useful in regard to the concept of learner strategies for production and acquisition as this lays the groundwork for the discussion on forms of instruction. The description of the stages of a L2 student's interlanguage is still not adequate, but it provides important insights for the language teacher in the multilingual class. However, the grading system in such classes needs to be overhauled in order to incorporate some of these insights. An understanding of individual learner factors is interesting, but does not lead directly to application.

SLA theory demonstrates that the teacher has a minor but important role to play in affecting the success rate of SLA of the L2 student, especially with regard to: control over the affective atmosphere; the learners' motivation; control over class-time input in the form of formal and interactive methods. There is a great variety of socio-cultural as well as personality or individual factors on which a teacher or researcher has little impact. Other factors which are beyond the teacher's control are the many aspects of the syllabus that are predetermined by the powers-that-be, or the expectations, often unrealistic, of the students to reach their previous standard within one or two years.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 PROGRESSIVE ENGLISH TEACHING IN THE MULTILINGUAL CLASSROOM

4.1.1 Preliminary Comments

Although the title of this chapter refers strictly to the teaching of English, it is evident from what follows that much of what is written pertains to other subjects as well. However, as these points are relevant to the teaching of English, one of the central concerns of the case study, they will be included under this title.

4.1.2 Progressive English Teaching

In Chapter One it was stated that educationists should exploit opportunities for exploration and contestation which exist within the present system, but that change in education and the extension of literacy can only come about, within the context of change in society. Teacher efforts should be in concert with the aspirations of the oppressed communities struggling for change. It is with the above statements in mind that teaching techniques adopted in the case study have been located within the ambit of "progressive English teaching".

For a characterization of a progressive approach towards teaching we can look at writings of literacy campaigners such as Freire; sociologists of education such as H. Giroux; and locally at writings of community organizations such as the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) about People's Education.

4.1.3 The Extension of Literacy-Based Skills

In line with E. Molobi's statement (1986:77) that an aim of People's Education is "the achievement of a high level of education for everyone", the most basic aim of a progressive English education should be to extend literacy and the skills associated with using English to all students. This aim entails quantitative and technical, as well as qualitative, process-orientated considerations. Given the size of the case study, and the opportunities it provides for in-depth research, it is mostly with the *quality* of this extension of literacy that this dissertation is concerned.

A progressive approach to English teaching should ensure that students are being provided with the skills to facilitate their participation in local family, peer group or community activities, as well as the skills (cultural capital) they would need to gain access to employment and power, in a present or future society. Thus in addition to being prepared to communicate in the vernacular, students need to be prepared to participate in transactions with individuals or organizations from Western, industrialized countries, and thus to communicate in the standard. Freire makes this point well:

...the goal should never be to restrict students to their own vernacular.... Educators should understand the value of mastering the standard dominant language of the wider society. It is through the full appropriation of the dominant standard language that students find themselves linguistically empowered to engage in dialogue with the wider sections of society. (Freire, 1987:ix)

Freire argues that whilst students should learn to acquire the standard language, this should not be at the expense of the students' own style of expression:

What we would like to reiterate is that educators should never allow the students' voice to be silenced by a distorted legitimization of the standard language. The students' voice should never be sacrificed, since it is the only means through which they make sense of their own experience in the world. (Freire, 1987:152)

4.1.4 Democratizing the Learning Process

Much mention has been made that progressive English teaching should pay attention to process as well as content (M. Gardiner, 1987; D. Johnson, 1989). This entails democratizing the learning process so that the students can participate in the decision-making of what is learnt, and how it is learnt. In an ideal situation it also involves incorporating the community into the decision-making processes about education.

Progressive education also argues that students should be more active and autonomous in the learning process. This is far more likely if the teacher allows the "educational ground-rules" (Edwards and Mercer, 1987:47) of the system to be uncovered, and therefore available for the students to use. Understanding how the rules work should facilitate the students' independent thinking. Moll and Slonimsky make this demand of academic support work at University level:

This implies that intervention cannot remain at the level of an explication of ground-rules and the bridging of cognitive forms from non-educational contexts to the formal university context. It further implies that an ASP programme must recognise, with the student, the shift from one context to another and the social, political and psychological implications of that shift. Only then will it grapple with the specificity of the ASP context in South Africa. (Moll and Slonimsky, 1988:22,3)

Students are more likely to feel empowered and self-confident, if they are able to express their own thoughts and aspirations, and generate their own themes (Graman, 1988; NECC press release, quoted in People's Education for Teachers, 1987). Although the teacher must use his/her leadership and knowledge to reveal hidden processes and facilitate the learning processes to students, the teacher must not be the authoritarian custodian of the "correct answer" (T. Graman, 1988:446).

4.1.5 Linguistic and Cultural Diversity

Allied to the notion that students should be able to express their own aspirations, is the idea that the English class must be linguistically pluralist, and must be a forum for the different discourses and voices, or ways of speaking, which exist within it. As N. Ndebele (1988:105) has pointed out, "If English belongs to all, then it will naturally assume the cultural colour of its respective users". This tolerance of diversity applies as much to differences in dialects, as well as differences in ways of speaking which extend beyond mere dialectal differences. Pluralism in the classroom must be accompanied by the teaching of "appropriateness". Students need to learn to distinguish which speaking or writing styles are appropriate in any given context, and how to alternate between these codes. In addition, students should be taught to distinguish between the norms of written and of spoken discourse, and that in general, conformity to the standard is expected more from written than from spoken discourse.

In line with a wider definition of English teaching would be an inclusion of a greater variety of discourses for scrutiny or production than exists at present, such as oral literature, pamphlets, songs: "the ideological significance

of all language should be open to constant scrutiny" (M. Gardiner, 1987:7).

The idea that the classroom should include a variety of voices does not imply a laissez-faire, amorphous tolerance. The teacher cannot neglect his\her responsibilities to the community from which the students emanate, and should connect classroom practices with the broader needs, both adaptive and transformative, of the society. In terms of the case study itself, a broader need of the students is to gain access to English universities, or at least to gain a matriculation certificate. This could be seen as "adaptive" rather than "transformative". The development of critical, independent thinking, a transformative need, is a far smaller priority for most students or their parents, even though this is part of the conceptualization of People's Education, and is thus a need of politicised groupings within our society.

In a class where students come from a variety of backgrounds, it would be a mistake to allow any one student's discourse to emerge uncritically and be seen as *the* dominant discourse. H. Giroux (in P. Freire, 1987:5) states that the culture of the working classes may be open to question and contain false consciousness, and that the culture of the middle classes suffers from "sweeping privatization, pessimism, and greed". N. Ndebele speaks similarly of the negative aspects of the middle class culture, here within the context of apartheid:

The greatest pathology of such a social system is the blunting of the humanistic vision and constriction of the intellect resulting in the death of the social conscience of the beneficiaries of the system. (Ndebele, 1988:122)

In the multilingual classroom where the middle class discourse is often accepted as the norm, the progressive

English teacher needs to intervene to ensure that a Eurocentric, middle class discourse is not allowed to dominate or be seen as superior, merely because the majority of students or the people in charge of the school or institution, are from this background.. B. Nzimande makes this point with reference to the ASP programmes, when he argues that they are trying to get black students to bridge academic and cognitive gaps, rather than seeing the English university as "disadvantaged" and out on a limb in the African context (ASP conference, 1987).

There is a popular notion that bringing our English classes into line with an African context will mean an emphasis on "relevant literature", that is, literature produced in Africa and dealing with topics supposedly of interest to young students in Africa or South Africa. This is not entirely untrue, and in Chapter Six I shall show how all students in the case study benefitted from this approach. However, what is as important as, if not more important than geographic origin of a text, is its accessibility and comprehensibility, as well as the context in which it is studied. This point becomes very clear in the case study and is reflected in the discussion of student lessons in Chapter Six, and of group-work and *Macbeth* in Chapter Seven.

4.1.6 Adaptation

How can the present be welded to the future, so that while satisfying urgent necessities of the one, we may work to effectively create and anticipate the other? (A. Gramsci quoted in M. Walker, 1989b:19)

Any attempt to teach progressively within the present school system entails some level of adaptation and limitation:

All forms of teaching to be found in schools are "adaptive" to some degree, otherwise they and their practitioners would not survive Moreover, all forms of teaching, even the most "radical", are both socially facilitated and constrained. (J. Scarth, 1983:223)

The above characterization of progressive English teaching and progressive teaching in general, contains some elements which can only be implemented in a future South Africa, or in a more liberated context, and some aspects which are fully compatible with a high school class at a college such as the case study class. For example, the fostering of critical skills and knowledge of the educational ground-rules should benefit a student wanting to pass matric English, or wanting to develop a critical, autonomous approach to language and the media. Chapters Seven and Eight show the extent to which some of these progressive elements do gel with the present system, and where they are in conflict with it.

4.1.7 Some Dilemmas

The above description of progressive teaching as transformative and adaptive contains a dilemma, as a great deal is being demanded of students: they are being asked to learn to manipulate as well as critically evaluate discourse; to learn how to use language experientially as well as analytically. In Chapter Three it was noted that analytic knowledge is more suitable for some students than others. Not all students will respond as enthusiastically to all the demands made of them, nor with equal ease or success. It has been pointed out in the Soudien et al paper (1989:11) that some of the demands of this new, progressive approach will be even more difficult for students used to, for example, DET education. There is thus a danger that one is making education more elitist, not less so.

Furthermore, the aims of People's English compete in terms of priority: is it possible to extend literacy as far and wide as possible, and at the same time to ensure the quality of this literacy, given the fact that time and facilities will always be limited? For example, the ex-DET students in the case study expect adequate SLA to occur within two or three years. Even in a relatively privileged situation such as the college, this desire is optimistic for many. The limited time factor conflicts with the notion of teaching as a process activity, as will be illustrated in Chapter Seven. Conflicting priorities also occur between the need to provide students with skills needed for access into broader society as it is at present (where the development of skills is sometimes at the expense of personal development) and with the need to facilitate students' development of confidence, self expression and autonomy. At some points these demands of progressive education are in harmony, but at others, in conflict.

4.2 A PROGRESSIVE APPROACH TO MULTILINGUAL CLASSES

The same definition of progressive teaching within a multilingual class applies as within any other South African class, although certain features need to be stressed in this context. One such feature is the need for the teacher or institution to acknowledge the potential social inequalities which are likely to exist within a multilingual classroom. J. Nixon makes this point about multilingual schooling in Britain:

A definition is required which embodies a condition whereby those who consider themselves to be superior are instrumental in sustaining a set of relationships based on domination and subordination. (Nixon, 1985:33)

4.2.1 Tolerance of Diversity

Of particular significance in the multilingual classroom, is the need to limit or eradicate cultural bias which is damaging to certain students, (J. Millar, 1983:163) and to encourage the multiplicity of voices and discourses mentioned above. We need to focus on the strengths and positive features which the different language speakers possess, rather than the negative aspects. This point was made about all schooling by S. Romaine (1984:251), and about multilingual classes specifically by Millar. Millar's statement stresses the importance of a new, more flexible system of assessment, which has been referred to in Chapter Three as one of the problem areas identified in the case study:

Many children have skills, bilingual and bidialectal ones, which vastly transcend those of their teachers, their examiners, or their monolingual classmates. They may be able to shift, to adopt a metalinguistic approach to the differences and similarities between languages and dialects, to develop a whole extra range of interpretive and performing abilities, which are in no way rewarded by the examinations as they stand. What is needed, then, is not a range of easier options, but a flexible scheme for assessing a far broader spectrum of skills and knowledge than is currently thought worthy of being honoured by certification.
(Millar, 1983:164)

4.2.2 Affective Environment

Furthermore, in the multilingual class the social dynamics become a major factor, partly because of the social divisions mentioned above, and partly because a positive affective environment is so important for the communicative development of second language learners, as was noted in Chapter Three. It is also important that there is a collaborative learning atmosphere, in which those who have

skills, are willing to pass these on to those who do not (R. Milk, 1985:66). Thus peer learning is both a useful and necessary element within the multilingual classroom:

In responding to 'second phase' language needs, teachers of pupils for whom English is a second language should also pay particular attention to the social environment of the classroom. Pupils need to be able to talk about their language and learning difficulties without fear of censure or ridicule. This is true of all pupils, but for second-language learners it is particularly important. It is essential, therefore, that the classroom is organised in such a way that the pupils are able to talk to one another as well as to the teacher. Interaction between second-language learners and between these pupils and native English speakers is a vital means of articulating and resolving specific language difficulties relating to the tasks set by the teacher. (Nixon, 1985:103)

4.2.3 An Integrated Approach

If it is accepted that L2 students have skills and cultural capital of their own to share with the L1 students, and that peer learning is one way in which SLA is fostered, then it is crucial that the L2 students are integrated into the mainstream class and not compartmentalized as second class students. R. Milk (1985:660) maintains that the necessary changes that must be adopted for the sake of L2 students, should be integrated into the mainstream curriculum itself. He terms this the "Integrative Language Development Approach" (1985:660). In Chapter Seven of this dissertation it will be illustrated, in support of the integrated approach, that many of these adaptations in technique in order to accommodate the L2 students, benefit L1 students, particularly academically weaker L1 students. However, Milk points out that overt L2 teaching might still be necessary, and that mainstream integration and the teaching of L2 students separately should be seen as complementary. This is in fact the approach adopted in the case study, where L2

students were provided with extra lessons on a regular basis.

4.3 AN APPROPRIATE TEACHING TECHNIQUE FOR THE MULTILINGUAL CLASSROOM.

Now that I have characterized progressive language teaching within the South African context, it remains to describe more technical aspects of second language teaching, appropriate for L2 students as well as L1 student in the multilingual classroom.

In the discussion of teaching techniques which follows, I shall argue, as was argued in Chapter Three, that learning through a combination of interaction, practice and experience, on the one hand, and through attending to the teacher's clear and overt presentation on the other, is vital in the multilingual classroom. L2 students are more dependent on the success of this combined model of presentation than L1 students, as this might be the only exposure L2 students have to the rules, skills and modes of expression associated with the English language. The combined approach is also useful for the L1 students, some of whom require the teaching procedures to be clear and easy, whilst others demand that it be meaningful and exciting.¹ It will also be shown in Chapter Seven that overt transmission teaching is appropriate for certain students, while an interactive approach is more useful for others. This is in line with the assertion in Chapter Three, that analytic knowledge is more suitable for certain tasks and certain learners, than others.

4.3.1 Comprehensible Input

In Chapter Three it was stated that in order for messages to

1. These expectations are articulated in Chapter Seven.

be transmitted, for academic progress to be made and for SLA to take place, input in the classroom should be comprehensible. Thus the teacher should ensure wherever possible that input is comprehensible to and has been processed by the L2 students, via testing, interviews or addressing students directly in extra lessons. When it is clear that input has not been processed, steps must be taken to make the message clearer. This was found to be possible in the case study by providing the L2 students with extra lessons where academic work could be repeated; by providing type-written notes and memoranda on a regular basis, especially to complement difficult textbooks; by writing notes or vocabulary on the board rather than just mentioning points orally; by explaining points more clearly and slowly than would seem necessary for L1 students; and with the encouragement of interactive learning contexts such as group-work, where input could be processed more slowly, and in a less pressurised manner. These adaptations favouring overt, clear presentation seem superfluous to more advanced L1 students, but are appreciated by weaker L1 students, as is illustrated in Chapter Seven.

4.3.2 Transmission of Ground-rules

I have already mentioned that the present educational system has implicit rules which middle class students seem to be able to manipulate, such as how to participate in classroom discourse, how explicit class test answers should be, and so on. These educational ground-rules should be transmitted to all students at a metacognitive level, so that they can use this cultural capital, as well as criticise it. Like comprehensible input, this process is not accomplished by one method only. The transmission of ground-rules in a multilingual classroom is facilitated by the direct, chalk and talk approach, such as the use of type-written notes, which is clear-cut and secure for L2 learners in the main

class, or through presentations in extra lessons for L2 students. However, it is essential that these ground-rules are not just presented to students - students should have the opportunity to practise and use them in an interactive and process-oriented environment. Thus in conversation and mutual criticism, students should articulate to others and practise the use of these ground-rules, in the same way that L2 students need the opportunity to practise and automatize the rules of the second language which they are acquiring.

4.3.3 The Interactive Approach: Group-work

In Chapter Three the significance of interaction for comprehensible input and second language acquisition was noted. In multilingual classes where L2 students are often shy, creative means have to be devised in order to facilitate a positive affective atmosphere, so that interactive learning can occur. In Chapter Six, reference is made to techniques which decentralise communication, such as "go arounds", discussing issues in pairs, students writing ideas down on paper before articulating them, impromptu drama, and so on. The principle means for decentralising communication adopted in the case study is group-work, and thus group-work forms the focus for this section on interactive teaching.

It has been noted above that group-work is conducive to comprehensible input and the transmission of ground-rules. It thus facilitates the SLA and academic development of L2 students. Writers such as D. Barnes (1975) and M. Torbe (1979), argue that group-work, in that it facilitates exploratory talk and negotiation of meaning, is useful for L1 students as well. Students often feel easier with each other than with the teacher, and can explore ideas without having to bother about expression in the form of "final

draft" statements, which is how the teacher expects the students to express themselves.

An additional advantage of group-work is the promotion of autonomy amongst students, (Khanya College paper, 1988; N. Hartman, 1989) who learn from each other how to go about performing certain practices, so that the teacher is not the only skilled person from whom to learn in the classroom. There is a danger here, as sometimes students become too dependent on other members of the group, and thus group-work should not be the only format in which tasks are accomplished by students. It is also not clear under what conditions this autonomy is fostered, or how much time is required for this process to be successful, as will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

In addition group-work can promote a positive affective climate (Long and Porter, 1985:211) which is supportive and intimate, thus allowing students to express themselves more freely, to show ignorance or to ask for support. Long and Porter report that group-work motivates learners who often feel more committed to listen and contribute to the group than they do in the broad class forum. Given the size of the groups, the intimacy increases the apparent significance of individual contributions. This point will be corroborated with reference to data in Chapter Seven. R. Slavin (1983) and W. Rivers (1987) maintain that group-work encourages co-operative learning behaviour, which is an important attribute in the multilingual class where academic skills and knowledge are not distributed evenly amongst students.

According to Long and Porter (1985:210) group-work also helps individualise instruction. This is because groups can determine their own pace - although of course this can become a problem in terms of classroom management. Students

within the groups can help each other, and if the teacher is freed from his/her role as sole transmittor of knowledge at the front, s/he can move amongst the groups and attend to individual needs.

A significant facet of group-work is that it provides more language practice for individual students than does formal classroom situations (Long and Porter, 1985:208). This feature is useful for L2 students, as well as for more reticent L1 students who say little in the groups, and almost nothing in the larger forums. Group-work thus encourages confidence in using the language, and fluency in that it facilitates the need for L2 students to automatize their knowledge of English, mentioned in Chapter Three.

According to Long and Porter (1985:208), group-work improves the quality of student talk. They point out that in groups students are not limited to producing isolated, hurried sentences: "Rather, they can engage in cohesive and coherent sentences or utterances, thereby developing discourse competence" (1985:209) such as inferring, hypothesizing or disagreeing. This is far less likely to happen when the average student, let alone the L2 student, addresses the teacher in front of the class.

Group-work allows the L2 learners to hear more natural language from the L1 speakers. They benefit from hearing the discourse of these speakers, whether this is of the more formal and academic nature, or of the informal, peer-influenced, casual sort. Peer interaction is not without its own inadequacies, however, as students often understand each other too easily, as it were, and thus do not feel obliged to make context reduced utterances clear, or produce standard English utterances. L2 students do need to practise these, not just hear them from the teacher. Thus this format must be complemented by final draft-type report-

backs, or final-draft written work to be marked by the teacher. These points will be illustrated in Chapter Seven.

In order to be successful, group-work must be managed correctly (Long and Porter, 1985:224) otherwise the learning experience can be negative and destructive. One suggestion made by Long and Porter (1985) and Milk (1985) is to have groups of mixed backgrounds and skills. This was the approach followed for the duration of the case study.

4.3.4 The Process Approach: Writing

Earlier sections of this chapter have stressed the need for attention to process in progressive teaching. One aspect of process, is what is known as the "process approach", where teachers transmit the skills of a certain task to students, by allowing them to focus on the actual procedure of carrying out the task. It is believed that this method will facilitate the transmission of skills and understanding more successfully than mere attention to the final product of the task.

D. Johnson argues that the process approach to writing is particularly relevant in South Africa, (1984:4) where literacy occupies a central role in the unequal distribution of skills; where the privileged use literacy to "control knowledge and use it in accordance with the dominant ideology"; and where the oppressed are provided with minimal literacy skills: "the literacy target is aimed at enabling people to follow instructions". He believes that students need to master literacy skills, and that the process approach to writing can be used to foster critical awareness, argumentative skills and self empowerment:

The instruction in writing which is envisaged is not a therapy, aimed at making students more competent in producing clear and correct

sentences, but a facilitative process, aimed at enabling students to understand the *process* of writing and to make them full participants in it. This kind of teaching should be done in ways which allow learners to problematise their existence and to place themselves in a social and historical context through which they can come to better understand themselves and the world around them. (Johnson, 1989:5)

A process approach towards the development of skills in the case study also centred around the skills of writing. Emphasis was placed on this set of skills for the reasons enunciated by Johnson. In addition, with specific reference to the needs of the L2 students in the case study, writing is the form in which literacy related skills are tested (M. Saville-Troike, 1984:217). For L2 students writing is of pedagogic importance as it is a convenient forum in which to experiment with language, organize it, reflect on it and correct it (A. Raimes, 1987b:39,40). It is assumed that if students develop greater clarity of expression in essay writing, this will facilitate their expression in written answers in grammar, comprehension and setwork tests and in exams. For the purposes of the case study "writing skills" include what are known as surface features, i.e. the skill of expression, correct spelling and punctuation, as well as discourse features, such as structure, purpose, coherence and cohesion.

Briefly, the process approach may include any of the following activities, mostly mentioned in Raimes (1983): prewriting, in which the topic is fleshed out, possibly by class/group discussion; freewriting, in which a student writes non-stop on a subject for a given length of time; planning, in which a student may decide how to rearrange the content in the freewriting, or formulate a new logic for the passage; rough-draft writing, which is then assessed by the student, other students or the teacher; this can be repeated several times, before a final draft is handed in to the

teacher. The student would correct content and organizational errors, before bothering about "surface" errors such as morphology, spelling, and so on. Whilst this order of priority is correct, it is not necessarily an order which students can keep to exactly - many correct surface and deep errors at the same time, not sequentially.

At points the learning process should involve direct discussions about the importance of structure, the difference between fact and opinion, how to interpret a title, and so on. In other words, learning to write is not purely an in-process or experiential procedure. Some direct teaching or transmission will aid the acquisition of literacy skills. For example, the teacher should make the criteria for success, and thus for marking, clear to the students, so that they are able to assess their work and that of their classmates (C. Peacock, 1986; V. Zamel, 1985). It is also vitally important that students understand the purposes of writing in general, and that they understand the purpose of any written piece they produce (M. Stubbs, 1980; D. Johnson, 1989). Students learn to be critical of writing by reading out their own pieces and by listening to other students read their work (T. Graman, 1988:446). By critically evaluating other students' work, they learn how to edit their own writing more successfully (Raimes, 1983:section for teachers.) In Chapter Seven these pedagogic benefits of the process approach will be demonstrated.

Some aspects of the process approach such as freewriting or personal writing may seem more difficult or strange to students writing in their second language, owing to their lack of communicative competence or confidence in the L2. This will be illustrated in Chapter Seven. However, the teacher needs to demonstrate the usefulness of this approach to L2 students, as Raimes notes:

But if we can relate the subject matter of their journals and freewriting to subjects they will address in later writing tasks, they see the purpose, they see what they can learn from freewriting. (Raimes, 1987a:39)

As with group-work, writing as a process activity must be correctly managed. One limitation in this regard is that students need to be allowed adequate time to perform tasks in this format, and it might be necessary to limit the amount of tasks given to students within a set time period. This leads to one of the disadvantages of the process approach, in that it cannot be utilised in more pressurised, exam type situations, where according to D. Pratt (1987:10), different techniques are required. I would assume that the advantages of the process approach would accrue even in pressurized situations, but the question is, how long does it take before the lessons and skills learnt by the student are transferred to the extent that they become automatic? Raimes (1983:section for teachers) claims that the skills acquired through the process approach are transferred to exam-type situations, but she does not substantiate this point, or develop it any further. This problem is highlighted in Chapter Seven.

Activities such as freewriting allow students to examine the relevance of their own experience for a given task, (Raimes, 1983) thus encouraging students' confidence and sense of control. D. Horowitz (1986:141) stresses, however, that utilizing one's own experience is more suitable for some tasks, such as personal, autobiographical writing, than more academically orientated tasks. He argues that the process approach itself is more suitable for certain tasks than others, and that it provides students with a false impression of how they will be required to work in the future, especially at university level:

The "gentle" approach of process-oriented classrooms may foster a false impression of the realities of academia, where our students' product-oriented attitudes may in fact be more adaptive. (Horowitz, 1986:143)

Chapter Seven bears out Horowitz's argument in no uncertain terms. However what this implies is, firstly, that there needs to be a balance of the process approach and other forms of instruction; secondly, the process approach has usefulness in a more long-term situation, for example if employed as part of a balanced programme over a number of years; thirdly, this approach should not be assessed purely in terms of academic success. Whilst success in exams is of central importance in the present system, educational methods also have a responsibility to foster skills not assessed by the exam system, such as control, confidence and understanding of the processes involved in producing culture. Chapter Seven will show, as Chapter Three has shown, that the system is deficient, and does not take into account real progress made by students, especially L2 students, in multilingual classroom situations.

4.3.5 Student Lessons

In the description of progressive English teaching at the beginning of this chapter, it was stressed that students should be encouraged to express their own aspirations and interests, and that the background and skills of the students should be exposed and shared with their classmates. In the case study the format in which this was made possible was called "student lessons". The idea was that students should each be allowed to teach the rest of the class something which they were interested in, and which was related to the topic of English in one way or another. For example if the lyrics of a song could be shown to be poetry, or if one was interested in surfing, then one would include

in the lesson points about surfer's slang, even poetry or imagery about surfing. Each student could deliver one lesson of 45 minutes individually, or as part of a group. The students had to plan the lesson and provide this plan to me to assess before the lesson, in case elements of the plan were not adequately thought out. Students had access to the photocopier and video machine. The class was told that these lessons would be incorporated in the final exam in the form of a general essay. The usefulness of this format will be commented on in Chapter Six.

4.3.6 Assessment of Teaching Techniques

Over the decades researchers have not succeeded in proving the definitive success of various language instruction methods for communicative or academic purposes in quantitative terms (D. Allwright, 1988:256). Where there is success, it is also not clear how much this is attributable to the method of instruction, and how much to other factors over which the teacher has no control. Allwright (1988:256) claims that this is the case because researchers have not combined research into instruction sufficiently with research into classroom dynamics and learner processes.

Another reason for this lack of definitive success is that researchers and instructors have such varying aims for their instructive techniques, which are not always spelt out. For example, Graman (1988:448), using a Freirean approach, argues in terms of proficiency in speaking and writing a language, but does not specify how he evaluates this proficiency, and says that more important than proficiency, is the development of "the freedom to think and act as critically conscious human beings". Horowitz (1986:141), on the other hand, is particularly concerned that L2 students perform successfully in university courses as they stand. It should be evident from the early sections of this

chapter that the educational aims embodied in this case study are both to enable students to move through the present system, as well as to make students more autonomous and critically aware.

Due to the multiplicity of educational aims of this case study as indicated above, as well as the quantity of variables, it would be foolish to attempt to prove the efficacy of the teaching techniques enumerated above, as opposed to any others. However, as the teaching techniques I have described are becoming popular internationally, as well as amongst progressive educators locally - and this case study is located within that paradigm - it would be useful to see what dynamics they generate in the multilingual classroom, and how L1 and L2 students respond to them. For the sake of multilingual classes in the future, it is necessary to examine both what advantages they appear to offer L2 students, as well as what extra burdens or disadvantages they pose for these students.

In Chapter Six I shall assess how these teaching techniques contributed to the group dynamics and affective atmosphere in the case study class. In Chapter Seven I shall examine responses of L1 and L2 students, to establish whether they saw these techniques as facilitating their academic development; and whether L2 students saw them as improving their rate of acquisition of the English language. Before doing this, however, I need to sketch the language learning experiences of the L2 students in the case study class. This will provide the context for their responses to the case study class and teaching techniques in Chapters Six and Seven.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 PRIOR LANGUAGE LEARNING EXPERIENCE OF L2 STUDENTS ¹

I became so frustrated when we started doing poetry here at the college because it was really different from the system we used last year from my previous school. (Sanni, essay in November 1988)

This chapter is a response to Question One of the introductory chapter, *"What is the previous academic language learning experience of the L2 students, and how does this affect their learning and development in the English class under study?"* The chapter will present a description of DET education by writers on South African education. It will also present the prior learning experience of the L2 students as described by the students themselves. I will then show how this experience has impacted on the learning of the L2 students in the English class in the case study. The data highlights four factors which have affected the learning experience of the L2 students in the case study: general learning experience at previous schools; the different teaching styles experienced previously by the students in their first and second language classes; the different content covered in previous language classes; and the level of communicative proficiency in English reached by the students prior to participating in the case study. This chapter will

1. Five out of the six L2 students in the case study are all previously Department of Education and Training (DET) students. (DET refers to the so-called "African schools in South Africa, which are situated mainly in the urban "townships". These differ markedly from white, coloured or Indian schools in terms of conditions, syllabus, and the fact that at these schools English or Afrikaans is the medium of instruction from Standard Three. However, students are examined on Afrikaans and English as second languages. The vernacular, for example Xhosa, is still treated as a "First Language" in the matriculation exam.) Gudrun is the odd-one-out, as she previously attended a white school in Namibia. The first part of this chapter will focus primarily on the ex-DET students, who have had similar past learning experiences. Points about Gudrun will only be made to show contrast with the other L2 students, or to show where the ex-DET students' experiences are in fact not unique. The references to DET education will certainly not include Gudrun's prior education.

illustrate with examples how these four factors all interrelate to produce the composite background of the L2 student.

As mentioned in Chapter Three there is a dearth of information about language use in the home and peer groups amongst speakers of African languages in South Africa, and a comparative availability of detail about language use in DET schools. It is for this reason that the presentation of the L2 students' prior language learning in the schools is addressed in detail, whilst only generalities about their language use in the home and peer groups will be mentioned.

5.1.1 FACTOR ONE:

GENERAL LEARNING EXPERIENCE AT DET SCHOOLS

Two elements which emerge from the literature on teaching in DET schools is the dominance of an authoritarian teaching approach and a lack of communicative proficiency on the part of the bulk of the teachers in English, the medium of instruction. The authoritarian ideology at the basis of Bantu Education teaching is referred to by M. Walker (1989b:7) and how it is manifested in the classroom is discussed by R. Ellis (1987:83), and R. Simons (1986:278), who shows how teachers are midway in an educational hierarchy, with the department and inspectors above, the students below. The repressive aspects of Bantu Education were confirmed in the case study by Amelia in an interview (2:I-2b), where she mentions that she was not allowed to discuss or write about politics at her previous school and that she was surprised that she was allowed to do this at the college.

Simons' (1986) investigation into classroom learning illustrates how the lack of communicative proficiency in English on the part of the teachers, coupled with an

authoritarian teaching style, leads to a practice which discourages negotiation of meaning and emphasizes accuracy rather than communication. His analysis shows how the authoritarian style is sometimes a defence against the teacher's lack of familiarity with the English language. K. Muller's thesis (1986) makes similar points with reference to science teaching in DET schools. C. Macdonald (1988b:3) shows how the lack of communicative proficiency of teachers and students can prevent a communicative and co-operative teaching methodology from emerging: she visited a school in Bophutatswana where the standard two class was using group-work very successfully in order to study in the medium of their first language. However, the standard three class was learning for the first time in the medium of English, and there the co-operative learning approach had broken down totally, because the children were unable to communicate sufficiently in English.

Simons (1986:222) provides an account of a student who gave as an answer a definition from the textbook without understanding it, because being correct and avoiding being laughed at was more important than using common-sense or understanding. This echoes the words of the L2 students in the case study who were inhibited about making errors and appearing foolish in front of the class. Amelia did not ask questions at her previous school, even though she was allowed to do so: "I was afraid maybe the teacher will say I am a stupid, I am a fool"(2:I-2b). Sanni displays the same unwillingness to make a fool of herself in the case study:

I think my problem is only to be shy, because I don't like to be laughed at when I make mistakes, so I just listen to what the teacher is saying to me. (Sanni, 2:I-20b)

I gained the impression from the extra lessons that this unwillingness to make mistakes was the result of the L2

students' previous experience with teachers and peers. An older matric student who occasionally came to the extra lessons castigated the L2 students from the case study class for giggling at each other's mistakes, saying that they were inhibiting themselves, and that this was "typical" of the behaviour of students at DET schools.

Whether it is the result of the teacher's lack of communicative proficiency in English or of a traditionally different teaching style, or both, as in the analysis of Simons or Macdonald, writers such as Walker (1987:102) note the emphasis on memorization, mass chanting, copying and correctness in the DET primary schools. Moll and Slonimsky's comment (1988:11) about this is that whilst students do possess necessary abstract cognitive learning skills, DET schools, with their emphasis on rote-learning, have trained people not to use them. Simons (1986) notes how this teaching style discourages students from experimenting with language, or developing any autonomy in relation to strategies for understanding new material, and facilitates ritualistic, rather than principled knowledge. These points are highly relevant to the case study, where L2 students did not possess strategies for dealing actively with difficult learning situations; for transferring the rules and knowledge they absorbed from one discipline to another; and had insufficient opportunity to practise and experiment with language.

It is important to keep this discussion in perspective, in that in most white and coloured schools rote learning and the authoritarian transmission of knowledge also exists.² Many L1 students in the case study suffered from a lack of student autonomy. Accounts from Macdonald and Simons have shown, however, how subtly lack of communicative proficiency

2. This point was made emphatically during discussion from the floor at the ASP conference, UCT, 1988.

connects with authoritarian teaching processes to create the problems faced by ex-DET students in the case study.

Despite the authoritarian attitudes at DET schools mentioned above, the stranglehold over the students is by no means monolithic. References have also been made in Chapter Two to various sources such as K. Hartshorne (1986), who notes a breakdown of discipline as well as of the credibility of the education system in DET schools. This has had a negative effect on the attitudes of certain L2 students in the case study towards learning. Despite their difficulty in meeting the academic standards of the college, I found that many of the L2 students did not work as hard as they could, or did not seem to take their studies as seriously as their situation merited. One possible explanation for this was the students' previous school experiences. One student who mentioned how students were expected to work far harder at the college than in her previous experience, was Sindiswa. She describes how the situation at her previous school affected her attitude at the college:

Teacher: What was your attitude to school before you came here? Did you work hard, or not hard?

Sindiswa: Not hard at all, but, because most of the time we were playing.

Teacher: Even in high school?

Sindiswa: Yes.

Teacher: Did you listen in the classroom?

Sindiswa: Yes, but the teachers don't take care of us. They will just write brief notes on the board and left us.

Teacher: So you didn't ask if you didn't understand?

Sindiswa: They won't tell you what is wrong or right, they will just say, "read that".

Teacher: Ok, mm, how was your attitude when you came here: playful, or like it was from before? How was your attitude when you came to Southern Suburbs College?

Sindiswa: When I first came I was playing too much (laughs) and I did fail. (2:I-22b)

Disrupted schooling also impacts on the learning experience of students. All the L2 students in the case study who had attended DET schools had experienced large gaps in their learning, for example Sanni, who missed two years of school because of boycotts. Even those who did not miss a year, such as Sylvie, still spent many months not attending classes. Although Gudrun did not experience disrupted education due to political upheavals, her education was also interrupted, as she was often absent from school for personal reasons, and she spent at least one year out of school after standard eight, at a secretarial college. Her example merely serves to emphasize the negative effect which disrupted schooling has on pupils.

5.2 FACTOR TWO:

TEACHING STYLES IN DET LANGUAGE CLASSES

5.2.1 Reading Comprehension

Mass chanting and memorization have already been mentioned above. Perkins ³ shows that at university level in the Transkei, Xhosa speaking students reading English "sound out" the words well, but do not necessarily understand them. The effect of this lack of attention to comprehension of words or passages is demonstrated by Sanni, who mentions how she has learnt at the college not to copy passages verbatim, which is something she would have done before:

Firstly I always took words straight from the passage and wrote them as my answer, now I learnt that I must put those words in my own words, not copy them from the passage. (Sanni, 1:Q-4)

There is a possibility that Sanni copied straight from the passage in the earlier parts of 1988, and did not use her own words due to lack of familiarity with English, but it

3. Point made at seminar delivered by Dorothy Perkins, ASP conference, 1988.

does seem that she needed to be taught the importance of this way of answering questions.

5.2.2 Setwork

Poetry was the setwork form in which L2 students noted the greatest difference between the way they were taught before, and how they were taught in the case study. At their previous schools, Sanni and Sylvie studied very little poetry because of the boycotts; Nosipho, like Sindiswa, had to memorize poetry as a way of learning it in the first language:

Teacher: And how did they teach you poetry?

Nosipho: Poetry, we used to memorize it like Siya (a student at the college) says, you have to memorize it.

Teacher: That's all?

Nosipho: Mmmm (yes).

Teacher: You don't have to understand the poem?

Nosipho: No.

Teacher: Did you understand Xhosa poetry like that?

....

Nosipho: Ja, because it was easy questions, easy poems. They don't ask figures of speech or anything like that. (2:I-18b)

Sanni's comment about her frustration with having to do poetry in a new way, quoted at the head of this chapter, echoes the sentiments of many of the other L2 students. Sanni and Sylvie mention that at their previous schools they did not study setwork in the same detail or discuss figurative language or themes. Sanni expressed this difference with the system utilized in the case study in an essay in November 1988:

The other thing which frustrated me was literature at my previous school we only read books with simple stories and we were not bothered about being asked deep questions and write essays from those stories, but when I started doing literature

at the college I had to start doing all those things.

Gudrun shared with the other L2 students an experience of studying setwork, especially poetry, which differed from that used in the case study. However, in her case the difference was not as extreme. She says poetry was studied in less detail than in the case study, and the teacher did most of the explaining:

Ja, em, poetry, read over, we was not so em, we didn't go really in the poetry, we read over and she tell us the figures of speech and that was all. (Gudrun, 2:I-12b)

5.2.3 Writing

The difference in teaching methods encountered by the L2 students is also evident with regard to writing. Gudrun said that at her previous school writing was taught with a similar method to that used in the case study class, and group-work was also used. However, all the other L2 students mention a less intensive writing approach at their previous schools. Amelia says that at her previous school when writing essays in Xhosa, the students were just given the title, and when writing essays in English, they were sometimes given key words as well (2:I-2b). Sanni compares the writing sessions at the college to her previous writing sessions in the Sotho classes, where attention was only paid to the final product:

I'm going to compare with here: here I think we prepare the thing. There they would just go through it. I think they didn't take corrections seriously. You just had to rewrite that which you have got wrong. (Sanni, 2:I-20b)

5.3 FACTOR THREE:

CONTENT COVERED PREVIOUSLY IN LANGUAGE CLASSES

Mention has already been made of the different teaching styles encountered by L2 students prior to the case study. One also needs to look at the previous content covered by L2 students in their first or second language classes. It would be unreasonable to presume or to hope that all students entering a class at a college, which draws its students from so many different institutions, would have covered the same previous content. However, it would seem that the subject matter covered at local private, as well as government white and coloured schools, is fairly similar in principle, if not always in terms of level.⁴ It was indicated by the ex-DET L2 students in the class that they had not covered much of the content that other students had in their previous first language classes. They had learnt about parts of speech, punctuation and the like before, thus formal grammar, but the kind of grammar we covered in the second half of the year, such as persuasive language, including advertising and propaganda, precis or types of style and register, were totally new to them.⁵ L1 students in the class were supposed to have dealt with persuasive language and precis in Standard Eight.

Students from DET schools have not absorbed a different set of references in the language classes alone. It will be shown further on in this chapter that they have developed a different stock of knowledge and references, not only in the school, but in their interactions in the home and community as well. For example, they were told different stories and taught different idioms by parents and grandparents, and most did not know what a fairy or witch was, whilst they did

4. This impression has been gained by my own teaching experience and the responses of students coming to the college from different schools.

5. Information from extra lesson class in November and ad-hoc interviews after November 1988 final exams.

know a variety of idioms and myths of which the L1 students were ignorant. ⁶

5.4 FACTOR FOUR:

COMMUNICATIVE PROFICIENCY ACHIEVED IN ENGLISH

For students to learn through the medium of English, they need to be able to communicate effectively in English, whether when receiving or producing messages. If a student is to learn through a second language, it is preferable that he/she attains sufficient proficiency in the language before learning in it (Macdonald, 1988, Walker, 1984). This does not mean that a student is unable to learn a second language and in that language at the same time; it simply implies that the more communicatively proficient a student is in that language, the easier the process of reaching the student's own academic level will be. ⁷ This section will show that the L2 students' level of communicative proficiency in English achieved prior to joining the case study class is low, and this is in part due to their learning of English at their previous schools.

I have already mentioned the inadequate training in English which teachers at DET schools receive. L2 students in the case study attest to the inadequate communicative proficiency of their teachers and thus to the inadequate English tuition which they received. Sanni describes her tuition in English at her previous school, Fezeka High in Guguletu, thus:

...although the medium of instruction is English, then they will say something in Xhosa, so a lot of vocabulary is in Xhosa, people don't learn English. (Sanni, 2:I-20b)

6. Information obtained in extra lessons.

7. Here communicative proficiency is meant to refer to oral as well as written communication.

Interestingly, Gudrun's experience of learning English at her previous school also showed that English tuition was inadequate:

Ja, because em, in school in South West, you only have em, the subject English, and you never speak outside with English or you didn't have English friends, because the most people are Germans, or the friends, in school you have English and it's only 45 minutes every day and the German, ag, the teacher, the teacher not really English, she spoke Afrikaans and it now a big problem. (Gudrun, 2:I-12b)

In the same way that Gudrun was socially and geographically isolated from English use, the other L2 students in the case study were also isolated from English due to Apartheid and the Group Areas Act. Other than Nosipho, who was asked questions by her mother's boss and his children, which she answered whilst never initiating conversation with them herself, the rest of the L2 students' only contact with English outside school was the television. An interesting contrast to the L2 students is Nomi, whom I have classified in the case study as a bilingual student. Although she attended a DET junior school, she was sent to an English creche, her mother often entertained English speaking guests, and she was provided with much English media at home.

5.5 EFFECTS OF PREVIOUS LEARNING

5.5.1 Communication Breakdowns

At the beginning of the case study year, L2 students found it difficult to follow English spoken by L1 students and the teacher. This was a result of their lack of automatic knowledge of English, and the resultant short-term memory overload, which would lead to communication breakdown, as

described in Chapter Three. This would certainly have impeded academic development:

At the beginning of the year it was very difficult, I couldn't, I didn't cope with the work, er, I didn't even understand when the teacher, when the teacher was talking in the class, the teacher had to repeat for me. (Sanni, 2:I-20c)

This did improve for the L2 students after the first term, but I found that students like Sylvie or Sindiswa still had to have sentences, addressed to them directly by me at normal pace, repeated as late as August. Nosipho told Sue Nicolson, the observer, how difficult and embarrassing she found asking the teacher questions in the class, especially when the teacher did not understand her question, which did happen occasionally. This is an example of communication breakdown in reception as well as production.

5.5.2 Effects on Group and Interpersonal Behaviour

One obvious effect of the lack of communicative proficiency of the L2 students was their inhibition in group-work or social interaction with the L1 students, especially in the first term. Gudrun said she found she took so long to articulate her ideas in the first group, that others would interrupt her (2:I-12a). Amelia thought that the others would laugh at her and find it strange that she would write and look out of the window rather than talk in the groups (2:I-2c). Nosipho expresses the general problem succinctly, "At first I was shy because I was speaking poor English" (1:Q-4).

Sanni also explained to Lufuno Nevhatulu, a triangulator, how in an informal situation she and two other L1 students were simply chatting. She could think of nothing to say, as she was "out of topic" - not enjoying common references with

the students, she could not locate herself within their shared discourse. This was in an informal situation, but I would guess that even in class discussions this feeling of not knowing what to say, or how to contribute, could occur. Sanni also says that an additional reason for her not contributing was that often the class discussions would be on fairly new topics, and she needed to hear what the others had to say and a time-lapse, before she would be able to participate.

5.5.3 Academic Effects of Different Cultural References of L2 Students

A teacher like myself has expectations of the general knowledge which students are assumed to have gleaned either from their previous learning situations or from reading or television viewing. These assumptions were invalid for the L2 students. This became most evident when teaching poetry, especially poetry dealing with history and European cultural traditions. This was not so much of a problem in the actual class, as much of this sort of poetry was intentionally not covered in the case study. However, I was very aware that these students had to do unseen poetry questions in matric, and thus attempted to teach the skills of unseen poetry analysis in the extra lessons. A typical example is the poem "A Prayer Before Birth" by Louis Macneice, which deals with disgust with the propaganda, lies, hypocrisy and violence seemingly endemic to the twentieth century. This poem had been given to the 1988 matrics as an unseen question in the March exam, and I used it as an example of what to look for when analysing poetry. However, the L2 students had insufficient knowledge about the history or cultural movements of the twentieth century and were thus unable to apply the skills I was attempting to share with them. I had to teach the poem in a typically, transmission

type format, and any attempt to facilitate the students' autonomy was not possible here.

Nosipho was one of the students who became very aware of the need to broaden her general knowledge as much as possible, and that this was in fact important for English. Unfortunately her statement below betrays her assumption that the teacher should be providing this knowledge for the students:

They must also teach us some of general knowledge because some of us don't do History and Geography etc... This is the responsibility for the teachers because some of the students want someone who is going to explain these things much better than they were reading in a book. (Nosipho, May 1988 essay on Education)

Many teachers reading this who teach in South African schools would respond by saying that they have exactly the same problems with their L1 students anyway. The point is that the disparity between the general knowledge of the L1 and the L2 students in the case study is fairly severe, in terms of what is needed to be known for the final matric English exam. This does not imply that the L2 students do not possess a set of cultural references at all. It indicates, however, that their skills and knowledge are not called for, or rewarded, by the present, Eurocentric syllabus. This is precisely what should occur in progressive education, as was noted in Chapter Four. Chapter Six illustrates how L2 students in the case study did in fact have cultural reference which they were able to share with the L1 students.

5.5.4 Communicative Proficiency in English and Academic Development

The L2 students' lack of communicative competence in English

had a severe impact on their academic development. Their lack of familiarity with the English language meant that the English lessons on grammar and style were difficult for the L2 students to grasp, as they were not sufficiently familiar with the idiom and vocabulary of the language. Sylvie, Sanni and Nosipho make this clear in their discussion with Sue Nicolson:

Sue: Do you feel when you're learning grammar, that you can relate what you're learning to the English that you talk all the time, or is it something separate? Do you understand what I'm saying?

Nosipho: It is a problem.

Sue: Do you feel that you would be able to learn grammar more easily if you saw the way that you speak English?

Sylvie: Yes.

Sue: How about you, Sanni?

Sanni: The same as Sylvie.

Sue: It's not connected to living English for you?

Sanni: No.

....
Nosipho: I can say I like Brenda's grammar....
There are a lot of mistakes when I was speaking.

....
Sylvie: I think, if we, if we were English speakers it would be easier for us...

Sanni: Ya, if you do it in you own language then it was fine.

....
Sylvie: And when we were learning it as a second language it was easier, I used to like it but now...

From the case study it has become evident that knowledge of vocabulary is a key aspect of communicative proficiency in a second language. A concrete example of the interference of limited English vocabulary, is an extra lesson I gave to the L2 students before a test in which they would be questioned on figures of speech. I gave the example of antithesis from their textbook, Senior Secondary School English, by Fletcher and Sceales, "They speak like saints, but act like devils." It took much time before the students explained

that they did not understand why this was an example of antithesis, because they did not know the meaning of the word "saints". By this time the point was lost and the lesson had become tedious for all involved.

The centrality of vocabulary in students' understanding of comprehension or passages for grammatical analysis was illustrated on countless occasions. One example is a question in the September 1988 exam asking for a description in the students' own words of a woman described as "wan and anaemic" in a passage from Down Second Avenue, by Ezekiel Mphahlele. Nomi, a bilingual student, cited this as one occasion on which she definitely felt herself to be a L2 student. The importance of vocabulary is compounded by the fact that language exams usually contain exercises designed to elicit how many words in a passage are understood by a student, often by asking for synonyms. In the June 1988 comprehension passage Amelia said she could not give the synonyms asked for certain words from the passage, as she did not even understand the key words in sentences surrounding these words. In extra lessons they were taught to work out the meanings of words from the context, if all else failed. For her, this failed too. In other words, learning metacognitive skills is inadequate, if it is not accompanied by sufficient growth in the communicative proficiency of the L2 student.

This discussion of how communicative proficiency interacts with academic performance bears out the statement made by M. Saville-Troike quoted in Chapter Three about the significance of vocabulary, where she recommends that vocabulary should "be related as closely as possible to students' learning needs in their subject matter classes" (1984:215). This is all very well, but the range of vocabulary required for the academic English class is so broad and unspecialized, that one cannot simply teach a list

of keywords to the student. The L2 student in the multilingual class needs to develop a lived and broad experience of the English language, not all of which can be provided in the multilingual classroom or the extra lessons. Similar problems with the interference of ignorance of English vocabulary occurred when I attempted to teach L2 students the skills of analysing unseen poetry in the extra lessons.

Furthermore, when the L2 students did understand a grammatical principle, lack of automatic knowledge and communicative proficiency made it difficult to apply this knowledge, especially in test situations. One example of this comes from the extra lesson after the class lesson on spoonerisms and malopropisms, in November 1988. Sylvie asked me in the extra lessons whether in the test on the following day, I was going to give new examples of these errors. The implication was that if I was going to give the same examples I gave in class, she would be able to learn these, off by heart, if necessary. This would be because she understood what the rules were, but did not know enough English vocabulary to apply what she knew in a test situation. On that occasion Sanni countered Sylvie, saying that the teacher cannot teach every instance of malopropism or spoonerism, and that she and the other L2 students should be reading.

Limited knowledge of the English language also inhibited L2 students' enjoyment of humour quite often during lessons: for example, when we did an example on tautology and ambiguity in August 1988, Sanni had to read out and correct the sentence, "When the doorbell rang she went downstairs in her nightgown and opened it". The L1 students laughed before she had a chance to work out what was wrong with the sentence.

Another problem caused by lack of communicative proficiency is that L2 students might well know the answer to a question, but express him/herself so badly that the teacher does not realize this. An example of this comes from a setwork question about the key figure in a short story by Nadine Gordimer called "Pain". The question was what kind of pain was suffered by Deltjie, and the answer was that she suffered spiritual as well as physical pain. When Sylvie wrote that she suffered pain in her heart as well as her stomach, I interpreted this to mean that she had two kinds of physical pain. I realized that the answer could be ambiguous, and that by "pain in the heart" Sylvie could have meant spiritual pain. When I quizzed her she testified that she did use "pain in the heart" to mean spiritual pain. Fortunately I did question her, but on how many occasions did I, or would another teacher in a similar situation, not realise that an L2 student did know an answer, but did not express him/herself clearly enough? Nomi, for one, often indicated that she thought her answer meant the same as the answer on the memorandum, and I would indicate to her that she did not express herself clearly enough to show she meant the same thing. Cummins and Swain (1986:40) maintain that L2 students in early immersion classes perform better when tested on the material in their own language. This might well eradicate the above problem but it was not practical in the case study class.

5.5.5 Writing Assignments

The writing of the L2 students in the case study was affected by a lack of communicative proficiency in English, as well as by different learning experiences at previous schools. Analysing these two factors in the case study was fairly difficult, as it was often not clear whether a problem would be caused by the one factor, and when by the other. This is evident from the following section.

Lack of communicative proficiency manifested itself in a variety of forms in the writing of the L2 students. This feature was not uniform for all L2 students. For example, the writing of Sanni would be very clear and easy to follow, whereas at the other extreme, the writing of Gudrun would be almost unintelligible at points. It is difficult to determine whether factors such as students' producing few informative points and little volume was the result of lack of interest or difficulty with expression.

It was evident that lack of confidence was directly related to this lack of proficiency. An example of this is the fact that Sylvie in particular, and Sindiswa to a lesser degree, would rely on other written sources when writing their own essays at home. The less advanced a student's English is, the more obvious their borrowing will be, as it will be less integrated into their own writing style. Thus Sindiswa's essay on education in May contained lumps of copied material from a pamphlet, at the expense of both cohesion and coherence. Sylvie, who borrowed the most, was most successful at integrating the style of the borrowed chunks into her own style, and seemed to learn vocabulary and idiom from her borrowing. However, the borrowing was occasionally at the expense of coherence.⁸ If this had to become a habit with L2 students, it would have a negative effect on their own self-esteem. At the secondary level the distinction between references to other sources and plagiarism is not clear. However, if this reliance on other sources continues when L2 students go to University, this could well result in a serious habit of plagiarism.

L2 students' frequent confusion about the meaning of a title of a piece of writing could also be attributed to lack of communicative proficiency. An example of this is Sanni and

8. The copy of Sylvie's letter which indicates many of these issues, is included in Appendix 3.

Sylvie's interpretation of the title "Prejudice" as "Discrimination" in May 1988, despite the class having participated in fairly lengthy prewriting sessions. This can be the result of inadequate attention to meaning and process; however, attention to process and the skills of writing will not totally compensate for inadequate familiarity with the idiom and vocabulary of the English language.

The lack of involvement in the process of writing at DET schools mentioned earlier in this chapter, manifested itself in many ways, especially in the early writing of the L2 students in the case study. This is a difficult problem to demonstrate, as it could just as easily be attributed to the L2 students' lack of communicative proficiency in English. Nevertheless, certain manifestations do show inadequate involvement with the process of writing, or understanding of the skills of writing. Some of these manifestations are: short time spent preparing a writing assignment; lack of attention to the meaning of a title of an essay; lack of attention to the purpose of an essay; lack of attention to surface errors; jumbled up information and lack of structure; final pieces of writing which were well below the minimum number of words prescribed. Some of these manifestations decreased as the year continued and students became aware of the kind of demands being made of them, but others unfortunately continued to surface till late into the year. An example of this is the letter to the editor by Sylvie in November 1988, which contained almost no surface errors, was clear and argumentative, but where insufficient attention had been paid to the purpose of the letter.⁹

One obvious effect of the L2 students' lack of communicative proficiency combined with the other factors such as the students' experience of different teaching styles, is that

9. The copy of this letter is in Appendix 3.

when I marked the students' work there was the opportunity for much confusion: does an essay which appears sloppy and inadequately prepared show signs of laziness, or inadequate communicative proficiency in English? For example, an essay by Gudrun in May 1988 was extremely short and contained little informative value. Gudrun insisted that she spent two hours preparing this essay! Even if the student has spent much time on the essay, is the lack of textual cohesion the result of inadequate attention to process and paragraphing, or is it the result of inadequate communicative proficiency? Britton et al (1975:7) differentiate between writing which is "perfunctory", attempting to satisfy the minimum demands of the task, and "involved", and claim that the reader can often pick up these differences in the product. From my own experience of teaching L1 students it is usually very easy to tell how much effort students have put into their writing assignments, especially if one is familiar with the student. However, with the writing of weak L2 students this is far less easy. Exam situations also allow for this type of ambiguity to emerge: does a strange answer showing some aspects of the correct answer show signs of poor expression, or that the student only half understood the material, or only half understood the question?

This chapter has, I hope, demonstrated that the performance of the L2 students in the case study has certainly been affected by their previous learning experience, as well as by the level of communicative proficiency in English they achieved before joining the case study. Both these factors as they were characterised in the case study reflect very negatively on the tuition provided by DET schools. This does not imply a "deficiency model" with respect to the students themselves, as Moll and Slonimsky noted.¹⁰ If L2 students from DET schools do well at institutions like

10. Their comment is quoted in Factor One of this chapter.

Southern Suburbs College, one might go so far as to say that this is in spite of their previous schooling, rather than a result of it. Furthermore, the examining process at the college and the certification process which it employs is not suited to highlighting much of the knowledge the L2 students possess. What is also evident from this chapter is that although a distinction between Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills and Academic or literacy related proficiency might be useful for some purposes, as noted in Chapter Three, it certainly is not directly applicable in the multilingual class, where communicative skills and academic and literacy related skills interweave at every point, and cannot be dealt with separately by the researcher or the teacher.

The findings of this chapter need to be assessed in conjunction with Chapters One and Three, in order for a broad understanding to be arrived at, of the reasons why the L2 students in the case study performed as they did. This information should illuminate points made in Chapter Seven, about the L2 students' development.

CHAPTER SIX

6.1 STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF THE MULTILINGUAL CLASS

I have also learnt a lot about knowing different nations tradition. I have also learnt that not all whites are prejudice towards black and some of them do feel the pain for us. (Sanni^{L2}, 1:Q-4)¹

I think it's nice being in a mixed class, I mean only at a coloured school, em, you sort of tend to think that all white people tend to think the same way, or all African people think the same way, and it, it isn't so. I mean you learn a lot of things about them. I mean, when I'm in the class I don't, I don't think of Bruce as a white boy or whatever, he's just a person. (Cindy^{L1}, 2:I-8b)

I was taken by my parents to a private school. It seemed as if I was dumped in dry desert without food and water. It was hard to get used to those people. It was mixed school. White and coloureds didn't care for Black students. They were underestimating black students. After length of time they changed their attitude towards the black students because they knew that we all paid same money and we all get same education. (Amelia^{L2}, essay in November)

This chapter will address Question Two, posed in the introduction, *"How do the L1 and L2 students perceive studying in a multilingual class, and how much is participation affected by linguistic differences?"* The analysis will attempt to answer the following sub-questions:

1. How do the L1 and L2 students feel about being in a multilingual class from a social point of view?
2. How do the L1 and L2 students feel about being in a multilingual class from an academic point of view?
3. How does the multilingual composition of the class affect student participation?

1. In the following chapters, where first and second language students are referred to, whether they are L1 or L2 speakers will be indicated in each case. All data from interviews and questionnaires are printed as is, with the language, spelling or punctuation errors made by students uncorrected.

4. How do the attempts by the teacher to decentralize communication and teaching affect student participation?

6.2 HOW STUDENTS FELT ABOUT BEING IN A MULTILINGUAL CLASS FROM A SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE

6.2.1 Data from Questionnaires and Interviews

Students were asked how they felt about being in a mixed ² class for the first time in February 1988. 24 students out of 26 saw this as positive and presenting no problems.

Anwar^{L1}, for example, wrote:

I feel it's really great and I wish that public school could also be mixed although we (had) a certain amount of Africans at our school. (1:Q-1)

Only two students expressed reservations at this stage. Bhavna^{L1} felt apprehensive:

It's difficult in the beginning but I will get used to it. (1:Q-1)

Fern^{L1} was committed to the mixed class in principle, but felt some students were too reserved:

I enjoy it here. I can mix freely with the whites but the black are one-sided and it is hard to befriend them as they stay in cliques. (1:Q-1)

In her May interview Fern said that although she was initially intimidated by their language, she made an effort to get to know the Xhosa students, and it was worth it. It seems clear that whilst students liked being in a mixed class, the elements of "strangeness" and the presence of

2. "Mixed" is the exact word used in the questionnaire. It reflects a certain imprecision, as to whether the mix was racial or linguistic. Students interpreted the "mix" primarily as racial, and to a lesser extent, as linguistic.

speakers of different languages created some awkwardness, to which students like Fern and Bhavna were sensitive.

In the November 1988 questionnaire students were again asked how they felt about being in a mixed class. At this point 24 out of 26 students felt positive about this, and provided more complex reasons for their answers than in February. L1 and L2 students mentioned as positive effects: the breaking down of initial prejudices and stereotypes, learning tolerance towards others and learning about each other's cultures and lives.

Several students, such as Jenny^{L1}, Sindiswa^{L2}, Sanni^{L2}, Amelia^{L2} and Willie^{L1} indicated that they arrived at school with prejudices which were eradicated during the course of the year - even though they did not admit to these initially. Jenny's learning experience was perhaps the most extreme, where she said that before she arrived at the college, she did not respect blacks, but then she learnt to do so (2:I-15b). Her comments were sincere, as she participated wholeheartedly in organizing the communication workshops.

When asked in interviews whether they would send their own children to mixed schools, students such as Janice^{L1}, Candy^{L1}, Bruce^{L1} and Hanief^{L1} said they would definitely do so, and were able to provide reasons for their answer.

Sylvie^{L2} was the only person in the November questionnaire to say she did not enjoy being in a mixed class. Her reasons given in the November questionnaire were not as intense as those cited earlier in the year, when she claimed that many of the L1 students were unhelpful and mocking of the L2 students. In June Sylvie was desperately unhappy about being at the college, and by November she was still guarded about her response:

No (it was not useful), because we are not united. It was very serious at the beginning of the year because there was a lack of communication in the class but now it is better in terms of communication and this has helped me in speaking English better. (1:Q-4)

6.2.2 Student Interaction

Although answers in the questionnaires revealing students' attitudes to mixed classes were almost unanimously positive, there might well have been some insincerity in this answering, which can only be assessed by examining students' interaction. For example, report-backs after group discussions in response to my summary of research findings in August 1988, indicated a consensus that the multilingual class was a success; student discussion within the groups nevertheless displayed some contention about whether all students' behaviour towards each other was facilitative and appropriate, or not.

There was evidence, especially from the interviews, that some of the students were slightly critical of the class dynamics. In interviews Willie^{L1}, Fern^{L1} and Clive^{L1} mentioned frustration with cliques developed along the lines of colour, religion and language:

But the only thing is that there are different cliques in the class, you see, Xhosa speaking have got their, have got one clique, the English speaking in one clique, the Moslems in one clique and I think, I think there's no way you can break that clique... (Clive, 2:I-9b)

Clive and Willie both felt that the L2 students were too passive, both academically and socially. Willie's comments in the September interview reveal all the complexity of the situation, where the L2 students were blamed for their

shyness, but some of the reasons for this shyness were exposed in his own comments:

Willie: You like them to be friends, you're in the situation in the class and you'd like them to actually be friends and speak up, but they all keep to themselves, and some students actually make fun of them behind their backs - that makes me frustrated. Because they are so quiet and ... I mean if they would just fit in! I would say Bennie^{L1} and Shafiek^{L1} and a few other boys in the class, they're the ones, but if they were good friends with them, it'd be alright.

Teacher: But maybe they are shy because fun is made of them.

Willie: No, because they don't know about it, because maybe a few cases slip through, but usually it's when they're not around, not in the class but outside. (2:I-24b)

Later in the same interview Willie says that making jokes about other groups per se is not offensive; however, as the L2 students were more sensitive in this respect, others should have been mindful of their feelings and restrained themselves from this sort of humour, and the L2 students also had a right to be at the college and to learn.

In the March 1988 interview Sindiswa^{L2} said she was shy to speak in class because Adiel^{L1} would laugh. My field-notes reveal that there was some truth in the L2 students' claims that others would mock them. Much later in the year I discovered Brandon^{L1} mocking Adiel's pronunciation of "Thriller" as "Triller", during Adiel's student lesson. When I remonstrated with Brandon, he said it was "okay", because Adiel would not mind and, in fact, teased others about such matters. Clearly this was not a problem for Adiel and Brandon, but it was one for already shy L2 students. In the September interview, Willie said it was fine for Brandon to tease Adiel, but not the L2 students - except that they were aware of the teasing anyway!

The fact that one only has to laugh at someone once, is like the adage about "first impressions". This fear of ridicule created an inhibition, a set pattern of behaving that stayed with the L2 students the whole year, even once their confidence with the language had developed substantially, or once Adiel's opinion no longer mattered.

Various incidents of mocking or joking were interpreted differently by the students in the class: Fern^{L1} was enraged by Shafiek^{L1} and Bennie^{L1} making racially offensive comments in front of Nomi (bilingual); Shafiek and Bennie claimed they made jokes about all types, including themselves. Nomi could not remember the specific incident Fern was referring to, but felt strongly that there was some offensive behaviour by certain individuals towards L2 students.

It would seem that if people are aware of differences and/or feel inferior for whatever reason, they will notice insensitive jokes or odd looks and attribute this to someone's racism. I have already noted in Chapter Five how lack of communicative competence tended to inhibit L2 students. Being shy about one's language ability and being female, in addition to the points mentioned in the previous paragraph about teasing, created some of the passivity referred to by Willie.

Problematic individuals' behaviour was often labelled as racist. Examples of this would be: Sanni's^{L2} interpretation as "racist", when students were instructed to share books in an early grammar lesson and Gudrun^{L2}, who was sitting next to her and was normally very withdrawn, went off to share with white students elsewhere in the class. However, in an interview Gudrun said that the Xhosa students were nice, but it was easier for her to communicate with the English students as there was less communication breakdown. Another example could be when Brandon behaved insensitively in his

group in June and Sylvie said, "Brandon doesn't care about the black students", when in fact the real issue was that Brandon behaved at times in an irritating and insensitive manner to a variety of students in the class. ³

The most angry response to the classroom situation came from Sylvie^{4,2}, who laid the blame with the other students, thus with the affective atmosphere. In her July questionnaire, in response to a question about whether the class atmosphere had changed, she wrote:

No, because the white students in my class does not want to communicate with blacks, so there will be no improvement in our English talking until they do that. (1:Q-3)

These observations should not detract too much from the positive evidence in the questionnaires. Rather, they show us that social dynamics in the multilingual class might be beneficial for the bulk of the students concerned, but they also make demands from the students: for tolerance, understanding, and not to be hypersensitive. Also, the learning experience is part of a process, and the tensions in the multilingual class do not resolve themselves instantly.

6.3 THE ACADEMIC OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED BY A MULTILINGUAL CLASS

Data in this section will show that the perceptions of the L1 and L2 students towards being in a multilingual class from an academic point of view are on the whole positive, despite the problems the L2 speakers faced, and the fact that the L1 students did not perceive any strictly academic advantages in studying with L2 students.

3. See Appendix 4 for Sylvie's full comment about this particular group's dynamics.

In the November questionnaire students were asked, "*Has it been useful to be part of a mixed class from an academic point of view?*" 17 students, including four L2 students answered "Yes" to the above question. These responses came mainly from L1 students such as Anwar, Bhavna or Colleen, who felt they were learning from the more successful L1 students such as Janice - a "high student" according to Bhavna - or from L2 speakers who felt this enabled them to practise speaking English, for example Sindiswa: "Yes, because I wouldn't have practised to speak English if it was not a mixed class." Four L1 students said it was not useful. Although Rifai^{L1} said he learnt from the talks the "blacks" gave about their background, he was rather negative at the same time:

No, I believe that people must be together only according to their standard. There'll always be something against the blacks and that I have experienced. (1:Q-4)

Two L2 students who said "no", said so because the work was too difficult in the beginning (Sanni) and because it was too difficult all the way through, especially the discussions (Sylvie). Two L1 students did not comment. Nolita (bilingual) said that being in a multilingual class had advantages in that it was challenging, but disadvantages in that it could be discouraging.

The L1 speakers by and large did not perceive any academic benefit specifically from having L2 speakers in the class. The closest to an awareness of the positive aspects of having L2 students, or different students, came from Brandon^{L1}, who said:

Yes, some people from different races, see certain things from another point of view, which allows others to broaden their horizons. (1:Q-4)

Many L1 students felt they benefitted from the extra notes, easier work or group-work, but they did not make the connections between this and with having L2 students in the class. When this link was made by me in the interviews, many, such as Bhavna, did agree. In an October 1988 interview, Candy agreed that she benefitted from the changes made for the sake of the L2 students. Adiel said in an April interview it was useful to have L2 students, "It's okay because the more you repeat, the more I benefit as well" (2:I-1a).

In response to the question in the November questionnaire, "*Did you feel your needs were catered for this year?*" 23 students said "yes", excluding Brandon^{L1}, who said "Yes, except more could have been done with setwork", and Anwar^{L1}, who said he felt very pressurized in the last term. To the question in the same questionnaire, "*Have you learnt anything new this year?*" each student said "yes". When asked what in particular they learnt in English, eight cited communicative benefits, for example Candy^{L1}, who learnt how to communicate better; Clive^{L1}, who learnt "to give others who are struggling a chance"; and Jenny^{L1}, who learnt how to work and "get along with people of different sexes, colours and cultures". Two students specifically mentioned group-work. 18 mentioned academic benefits, such as to enjoy Macbeth (Janice^{L1}, Nazeer^{L1}); figures of speech (Hanief^{L1}); how to structure essays (Sindiswa^{L2}, Sylvie^{L2}); that English is an exciting way of communicating if used properly, and "that there are different types of English you use for your essays" (Fern^{L1}).

A question which provided revealing answers, asked "*Was the standard this year too high / too low / just right?*" 16 students said "Just right". Of those who did not say "just right", only Brandon^{L1} said it was "sometimes too low". Sanni^{L2} said some of the students who were "too high and in

a group would not listen to your point"; Sylvie^{L2} said it was "too high" for her but "right for the college"; Sindiswa^{L2} and Amelia^{L2} said it was "too high at the beginning"; Candy^{L1} and Nomi (bilingual) said it was "sometimes too high"; and Nosipho^{L2} and Gudrun^{L2} said it was "too high".

These points were fleshed out a bit more in the interviews. In October Janice^{L1} said she did not learn that much new in the case study year, but that the other advantages of being at a mixed school outweighed this; nevertheless, she did mention learning new things, for example how to structure essays. Colleen^{L1} said in August that at the beginning of the year she was sometimes shocked by the simplicity of the words explained on the board. In September Willie^{L1} said that the standard was sometimes too low "but generally not"; it was certainly high compared to previous schools he had been to, and that he was learning something new every day in English; sometimes he would feel "dragged behind" by his classmates, such as Bennie^{L1}, who were not keen to improve the way they spoke. Rashied^{L1} claimed in October that seeing how much the weaker students such as Sylvie^{L2} improved was an inspiration to him, and encouraged him to do better. In November Sanni^{L2} said that despite her own frustrations and feelings of inferiority and anger at "show off" students such as Bennie^{L1}, she preferred to be in a class with Willie^{L1} and Jennie^{L1}, i.e. a multilingual class, as she could learn from the latter students. Haniefah, a weak L1 student, said in April that she sometimes felt the teacher went too fast. Bennie^{L1}, in October, said that there was too much spoonfeeding in the class.

The L2 students perceived the necessity of being in a multilingual class, although some were aware of the negative psychological impact this had on them. Nomi (bilingual)

felt that having to learn English as a first language made people like herself feel inferior:

Some of us, English is the second or third language. This language is not easy even though it looks that way. We struggle to learn it but people fail to understand the way we struggle. We are then told that we are slow thinkers. That puts a person off we try no matter what. (1:Q-3)

The L2 students felt they needed to speak English well for the purposes of employment or acceptance into a "good" university, and therefore coming to the college and being in a multilingual class was useful in the long-term. Only Sylvie, and Sanni to a lesser extent, felt that for them to be forced by circumstances, or the language policies of the country to have to learn in English was discriminatory. Sylvie had seen her older sister repeat matric at the college, and still not receive satisfactory results. She reiterates the demoralizing aspects of learning in English as a first language, which were noted by Nomi above:

Yes (teaching English discriminates) because it makes them lose hope at the end of the year, like for example, someone could pass all the subjects, but if he or she fails English he will end up repeating the class. Some students are coming from the Black schools, so it is unfair to teach them in the same level as the other english speakers. (Sylvie, 1:Q-3)

A minority of L1 students sympathized with the predicament of the L2 students, although they were not necessarily able to understand this in the broader socio-political context. Students like Fern, Jennie and Yasmin showed by their help and co-operation that they understood the situation facing the L2 students. Yasmin articulated this clearly in her November questionnaire, from which it is evident that the multilingual class had educated her about education in South Africa:

I have learnt that the African students who think they are stupid are not. They might be a little slower at catching on to something but then again so am I. It's just, when you think about it, whatever is being said they have to, in a way translate everything, the same with Gudrun. It's also sad because the African students have been deprived from a good education when they were younger as well. All in all, I'd say they do better than some of the students in other subjects even if they do struggle with English a bit.
(1:Q-4)

Janice's^{L1} comment in the June questionnaire typified the majority view in the class that if the L2 students wanted to study in English at the college, which was beneficial to them in the long-term, then they should make the effort to catch up themselves:

The xhosa pupils will obviously have difficulty with H.G. english, as well as the people who speak Afrikaans. Being in a mixed class, this can't be helped. These pupils are not being discriminated against, as the same standard of English is taught to the whole class. They will just have to try harder than the English-speaking people. (1:Q-3)

From the above it is clear that whilst students were aware of the inequalities in the class, the L1 students did not think they were adversely affected by the presence of the L2 students. They saw advantages from a communicative and cultural point of view of having a mixed class, but very few perceived direct academic advantages. The L2 students mostly perceived direct academic advantages from being with L1 students, though for some this was outweighed by a standard which was too high, or students who made them feel inferior.

6.4 STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN THE MULTILINGUAL CLASS

My field-notes and the triangulators' observations reveal

that the multilingual composition of the class had an adverse effect on participation. Speaking in discussions, volunteering answers or spontaneously asking for help was very unequal, and remained so throughout the year. As in any class, there were the most vocal students: Yasmin, Fern, Willie, Jenny, Brandon, Bennie (all L1); some who spoke less frequently and some who hardly spoke at all.

The non-participation of L2 students, caused by a combination of linguistic, personality and gender factors, was particularly severe, and more noticeable. This contributed to a feeling of awkwardness and tension in the class, especially at the beginning of the year. L2 students never asked questions or volunteered information; when asked content questions most would respond, though often very softly. When asked their opinion, they would generally say "Yes" or "No" or volunteer a quiet, monosyllabic answer, without any substantiation.

The lack of feedback from L2 speakers meant that the presenter, mostly the teacher (me), would often not know whether these students were following and understanding or not. This kind of feedback could only be elicited from interviews or tests. In either situation, when their English expression was still weak, i.e. in the first half of the year, it remained difficult to elicit this information in either questioning form from L2 students. It was only in August when Sanni, and later when Amelia, would actively address questions to me after class or privately in class, that this problem with feedback decreased.

In an August interview Sanni^{L2} said she felt the class atmosphere had changed and people were more willing to help, and that her attitude towards them had changed due to more contact and her increased confidence. In November she said the teasing would not inhibit her from speaking, as it had

done earlier in the year. Although Sindiswa^{L2} felt more confident about her English and happier to talk to the L1 classmates, she said she was still too shy to speak, for example, in Sanni's lessons on Makeba in October. This was despite the fact that the lesson was delivered by a friend, and that the content was familiar to her. Sue Nicolson notes in her assessment of the video of the class in groups in November, that the L2 students were still comparatively subdued. Thus increases in communicative competence did not have an immediate effect on the L2 students' participation in the class itself.

6.4.1 Communication amongst Students

From my observations in field-notes and students' comments in interviews, it is evident that L1 students like Yasmin, Willie, Fern and Brandon made much effort to communicate with L2 students from early in the year, when it was often met with little outward response; however, it paved the way for the increase in informal communication amongst students later in the year. The usefulness of these attempts at communication was possibly attenuated by the teasing and mocking mentioned previously.

Although whole class forum participation did not change substantially throughout the year, I noticed that conversation between students did improve. Initially, as at the end of the year, students remained in well-defined cliques at break, as described by Clive earlier in this chapter.

Whilst at the beginning of the year the L2 speakers never addressed L1 speakers and were fairly unfriendly, by about August I noticed them talking to L1 speakers much more, and even Sylvie^{L2} would address people like Yasmin^{L1} or Brandon^{L1}. For Sindiswa^{L2} the increase of her communication

with L1 speakers was linked to her increase in confidence in English. In November she said she liked her classmates at the beginning, but could not communicate with them. By November she could, because her English had improved.

It has been demonstrated above how the lack of communicative competence plus shyness, due to personality factors and group dynamics, worked together to inhibit participation from L2 speakers in the class. Here I have shown that when the atmosphere and the L2 students' communicative competence improved, this had a positive effect on communication amongst students. This had an effect on the classroom atmosphere, rather than on overt participation of L2 students in the class. I would argue that the improvement in affective atmosphere did have academic advantages, in that if L2 students were more relaxed in the class they would be able to absorb material more successfully. This was corroborated by L2 students in the interviews. The next section will reflect on whether attempts to decentralize classroom communication via interactive teaching had any positive effects on student participation in the case study.

6.5 ATTEMPTS TO DECENTRALIZE CLASSROOM COMMUNICATION AND TEACHING

In Chapter Three interactive teaching methods were described which have as two of their aims, decentralizing classroom communication and teaching, and improving communication amongst the students. This section will reflect on the ability of these techniques to achieve the above aims.

6.5.1 Group-work

In the first six months the L2 students were very quiet, often totally withdrawn in their groups. They often became the reporters to the class. Because they were writing, they

could escape having to speak in the groups themselves; reporting to the class was not very threatening, as they had written notes in front of them. This did mean that their voices were heard by the rest of the class, which was important. In the second half of the year L2 speaker's participation in the groups increased significantly. L2 students never took charge of their groups spontaneously, and when delegated to do so, were not always given the space by the other students. Sue Nicolson noted in her commentary of the video recordings of students working in groups in November, that the L2 students were evidently more subdued than the other students in these groups.

Participation within the groups also varied according to the task: when discussing an academic issue such as a poetry comprehension, L2 speakers and other weak L1 speakers would be very quiet. However, when discussing how to dramatize Macbeth or lay out the group's newspaper, L2 speakers could be seen talking far more, and more confidently. In situations where students were asked to prepare something in writing before the group-work session, such as rough notes for an essay on Macbeth, L2 students were also more vocal.

The route to this comparatively easy form of communication was not without some misunderstanding and anxiety for students. A particularly intense example of this comes from the second set of groups, with Yasmin^{L1}, Brandon^{L1}, Adiel^{L1}, Sindiswa^{L2} and Sylvie^{L2}, where one would notice Sindiswa and Sylvie saying absolutely nothing, even looking angry. Yasmin and Brandon would alternatively be talking, Brandon bragging, or either of them telling Sindiswa and Sylvie to "say something". There was some clumsy goodwill and some insensitivity here, which was counter-productive in terms of facilitating communication. Sylvie's written response to this when I asked her to describe how she was feeling, shows

how strongly this affected her. ⁴ Yasmin was also heard to say in the group in May, "I wish you could speak in English that I can understand!" ⁵ Later in the year the tension amongst these students had dissipated entirely.

Despite these moments of frustration in the groups, communication within them did increase during the year, and L1 and L2 students testified to the fact that group-work increased their confidence and familiarity with other students, thus improving the atmosphere in the class. These points were made in interviews by amongst others, Candy^{L1}, Shafiek^{L1}, Nomi (bilingual), Sanni^{L2}.

Another interesting effect of the group-work was the development of co-operative behaviour and the students' ability to provide and accept constructive criticism. I recorded numerous examples of this in my field-notes, especially in the second half of the year. In the May 1988 questionnaire, to the question "*Have you learnt anything from the way of working of others?*" Nosipho^{L2} wrote: "Yes I did. Fern^{L1} is the example. She doesn't care whom you are." Sylvie^{L2} wrote: "Yes, eg. Yasmin^{L1} is very kind and friendly to me, but firstly, I didn't notice her kindness to me."

The data indicates that most of the stated affective and communicative benefits of group-work advanced by writers such as Long and Porter (1985), quoted in Chapter Four, were evident in the case study. L2 students, through report-backs to the class or contributions within their groups, contributed more to the class than they did in broad forum situations. Group-work was thus an appropriate structure for this multilingual class. The data shows, however, that group-work was nevertheless affected by the language and

4. This is included in appendix 4.

5. This was noted in Wendy Walton's triangulator's report.

personality factors which occurred in the case study, and that for a minority of students, group-work could at times even aggravate the tensions caused by these factors.

6.5.2 Drama

Drama sessions were utilized to enhance academic, network-related or oral, discussion-related lessons. Generally L2 students as well as L1 students were enthusiastic about drama activities. However for some, such as Gudrun^{L2} and Amelia^{L2}, their accents remained a problem limiting the comprehension of their words by the L1 students. L2 students were also far more at ease and confident with prepared drama situations, and did not feel as easy about impromptu situations as the L1 students did.

Besides equalizing participation, certain drama sessions played an educative role in the class on the subject of language and society: on one occasion students had to dramatize incidents involving confusion caused by linguistic or cultural misunderstandings. Most groups presented witty or human interest situations. A group of L2 students enacted their own learning situation in the English class and the problems they faced.⁶ On another occasion when Sylvie's feelings of intimidation about speaking English were at their most intense, the class was asked to role play a conversation between a young person and a social-worker. When Sylvie, Sanni and Sindiswa were called to the front, they had a quick, whispered exchange, then performed. Sanni became the English speaking social worker, Sylvie the Xhosa speaking child, and Sindiswa the translator. Although this drama was conceived for Sylvie to avoid speaking English, it did mirror for the rest of the class a typically South African situation. On both these occasions, comments from

6. See Appendix 4 for the transcript of this dramatisation.

L1 students in the class indicated that some of them had perceived the significance of these scenes.

6.5.3 Student Lessons

These lessons included the following topics: lyrics of Bob Marley, George Benson, Miriam Makeba; writing about surfing; the poetry of Adam Small; riddles; or witches in the time of Shakespeare and in traditional African society.

Three observations can be made about these lessons: firstly, except for Gudrun^{L2} and Bhavna^{L1}, who slipped through the net because of absenteeism, the whole class presented without being nagged to do so, thus providing the L2 students with an opportunity to participate in class activities. When I asked the L2 students why they were keen to do the lessons when they were otherwise so reticent, their response was that they had to, and did not want to be left out.

The second observation is more negative: even when more relevant topics were addressed, or ones which were more familiar to the L2 speakers, their class participation did not increase at all. For example, when Sanni^{L2} did her presentation on Miriam Makeba towards the end of the year - she herself being the friend of many of the L2 speakers - there was much participation from the L1 speakers, who clearly enjoyed the presentation, but not one L2 speaker spoke! In fact, the time the L2 students looked most relaxed or part of the class was when Hanief^{L1}, Nazeer^{L1} (the class joker) and Rifai^{L1} did a particularly disorganized, weak lesson, which provoked much hilarity. Relevance might be a necessary pre-requisite for participation in discussions, but it is not on its own an adequate factor, as was noted in Chapter Four. A distinction between learning and participation must be made,

because it was clear from the interviews that although L2 students gained or learnt much from the student lessons, especially the latter ones, they did not say much during them.

The third significant feature of these student lessons is that they did allow a non-Eurocentric subject matter into the class, especially with regard to African or South African culture, thus providing for J. Millar (1983) and S. Romaine's (1984) injunctions, quoted in Chapter Four, that multilingual classes should focus on the positive features and strengths of the different language speakers.

Sylvie^{L2} and Sindiswa's^{L2} lesson on riddles in traditional South African society was perhaps the most notable "African" input. An introductory drama showed Sanni^{L2} and Fern^{L1}, two college friends, going to visit Sanni's family in the Ciskei. At Sanni's home, Fern saw how riddles and word-games are enjoyed after the evening meal. Sindiswa, Nosipho and Sylvie also wore appropriate costumes. Afterwards the class was given a worksheet with riddles, introduced by Sylvie. The whole production was vibrant and novel. Even in this lesson intimidating forces were at work: when Sylvie handed out the worksheet she had prepared, Brandon^{L1}, noticing an English concord error, shouted out, "This isn't proper English." ⁷

In the interviews many students referred to this as one of the best lessons, and said they had learnt much about their fellow pupils from it. Sue Nicolson's report reflects the impact this dynamic cultural input had for her. ⁸

The L2 students appreciated that these lessons were bringing some of their own background into the class. Sindiswa

7. Recorded in my field-notes.

8. See Appendix 5 for extracts of her report.

explained why she had taken up my suggestion in the extra lessons, to initiate the lesson on riddles:

They are alright to bring the black, black culture lessons to English speaking people so that they can see how our culture groups... (2:I-22c)

6.5.4 Miscellaneous Methods

In the case study I adopted a variety of devices in order to equalize participation, including "go arounds" or students asking each other questions in pairs. In terms of focussing more introspectively on the learning environment, numerous discussions on topics such as prejudice, social and linguistic differences, or the class atmosphere arose naturally out of class events or material covered.

In the frequent sessions where students read out creative or analytical writing to the class, I attempted to make the spread as representative as possible, so that essays by Nosipho^{L2}, Sylvie^{L2} and Sanni^{L2} were read out, as well as by some of the more average L1 students.

Sessions designed to broaden participation or get students to know more about each other were generally successful in themselves, according to student feedback. However, it is unclear whether any of these activities had any long lasting effects on the classroom atmosphere. Unfortunately no matter how "relevant" a topic was, L2 students did not participate if the topic was addressed in the broad forum, as did often occur spontaneously, even towards the end of the year. An example of this was a discussion sparked off by Clive's^{L1} dialogue on appropriate and inappropriate style, which centred around the issue of how coming to the college had affected students' language, accents and their relationships with members of their community.

All the structured attempts at equalizing participation, such as go arounds, group-work or student lessons, presented L2 speakers with more opportunities to contribute to the class learning process. However, the L2 students still remained reticent outside of these occasions, and the class itself had a very structured feel about it.

6.5.5 The Value of Intervention

An issue which is raised here, is to what extent does a teacher intervene, and how overtly, in the face of problems occurring in a multilingual classroom? Some of the interventions which did occur during the year were initiated by me, but some, such as the drama around language and the classroom, were initiated by students. Interesting data on this subject comes from a discussion with Sylvie^{L2} in March (2:I-23a) after a guest speaker had referred to the L2 speakers directly, saying that they should stop him if he went too fast. I asked Sylvie whether this embarrassed her. Her response was that he did, and that he should have spoken slowly and made concessions for L2 speakers, but not said so openly, because "only blacks can't follow". With discussions on prejudice, there is a very thin margin between what is useful and what would cause tension. From my own judgement, the case study kept just within the limits of what was appropriate, as there was no increase in tension after any of these interventions, and co-operation did improve. However Bennie's^{L1} response to the July questionnaire, "*Do you believe the present way of teaching English First Language discriminates against any pupils or groups of pupils?*" reveals that much more introspection would have provoked students like himself into a negative or guilty mode:

No. Although we do topics such as prejudice, one tends to believe that we are discriminating. However, this is not done intentionally. (1:Q-3)

6.5.6 Communication Workshops

Three communication workshops were held extra-murally in March, May and August. The original rationale for the workshops was for L2 students to practise speaking English with L1 speakers, and all the students were invited. The second and third workshops were jointly planned by a group of students and me. All of the L2 students attended at least one workshop, except for Gudrun. The workshops included ice-breakers, drama activities and writing sessions. The final workshop also included a video session and a panel of local speakers such as Menan Du Plessis (writer), Dirk Meerkotter (lecturer in education at UWC) and Lufuno Nevhatulu (masters student at UCT, originally from Venda).

At the time the workshops had an impact on those students who attended them. Sanni^{L2} explained in an interview in August how the third workshop made her feel easier with Jenny^{L1}, how she enjoyed planning the day and being in the writing group (2:I-20b). Nosipho^{L2} mentioned them often, especially as factors contributing to her increase in fluency and confidence. Sylvie^{L2} attended all, and when I asked her why she attended them, her reply was, "I came because it was made by us" (2:I-23c). People like Jenny^{L1}, Sanni^{L2} and Clive^{L1} worked closely together in the planning group. Brandon^{L1} felt the third one had much impact, and said that it taught him:

...about the importance of listening to others.
It was interesting to find out what other people have to say, 'cos normally I think what I think is right, and there's no other answer, but when I heard other contributions, I learnt that other people have also got something to say. (2:I-6b)

The rap, introductory speech and the drama of the final

workshop all reflected a commitment on the part of the participants to working together:

Communication is the way to go
 No matter how
 You just do it,
 As long as it's now.
 Black and White,
 Green and Red
 No one cares
 When we are dead.
 But you are what you are
 What you wanna be
 So go ahead
 And make some history...

(Rap lyrics from third communication workshop)

Through these workshops one can trace the development of communicative proficiency of L2 students, and the ability of L1 students to interact with them. In the March workshop Fern^{L1} was unable to make herself understood to the L2 speakers in her group, as her speech was fast and complicated. Amelia^{L2} and Nosipho^{L2} spoke in Xhosa in their group's discussion. By the final workshop there were no basic communication difficulties; although L1 speakers still dominated decision-making in the groups, Sanni^{L2} closed the day, which she would never have done before.

From my own observations and interviews with students, it is evident that the workshops generated much enthusiasm at the time for student involvement and co-operative behaviour. It also provided many L2 students with practice in speaking and writing English, and increased their confidence. However, the perceived impact of such a venture on the daily experience of the learners is not as great as one could have expected. In March 1989 I asked Sindiswa^{L2}, Nosipho^{L2} and Sanni^{L2} whether the communication workshops had any impact on their class. Their response was that they "made no difference": those who were hostile remained so, as those who "needed" to come, did not; those who did come acted

friendly and "nice to you", but would return to their normal habits once back in school - a limitation which, according to them, existed with group-work too (2:I-30).

It is interesting to note that the L2 speakers who remained at the college for standard ten, Sanni, Sindiswa, Nosipho, Sylvie and Gudrun were all more relaxed with their fellow students in standard ten than in the year of the case study (2:I-30). Sanni attributed this to the friendliness of the new students and the departure of one particularly troublesome student, but one would assume that the increased communicative proficiency of the L2 speakers would be a contributing factor. I was told by the standard ten English teacher, however, that the L2 students were still quiet in class.

6.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DATA

From much of the evidence provided by the students the sometimes contradictory relationship between what students said, and how they behaved, was illustrated: sometimes they represented themselves accurately, sometimes they lied and other times, made statements which require much unravelling. There is the risk that the questions in the questionnaires about mixed classes made the students excessively aware of the issue of race. This is a danger in this type of research, but judging from the comments made by the students, it seems to me that they were already aware of these issues, especially the "hypersensitive" students. Another possibility is that as a researcher I tended to lend too much credence to the comments of these latter students, who were also victims of their own subjectivity. Even if these did not affect my findings, which I do not believe they ultimately did, they nevertheless increased my concern and level of anxiety as a teacher during the case study. I shall return to these points in Chapter Eight, as it seems

to me that qualitative researchers relying heavily on participants' perceptions need to guard against these potential problems.

From the data referred to in this chapter, it is evident that attempts to increase participation of the L2 students were helpful, but at the end of one year L2 students were still not participating as fully in class activities as other students were. Despite the frustration, traumas and difficulties for all involved, the multilingual class appears to have been a successful learning experience, as evidence at the beginning of this chapter has illustrated. This supports K. Hartshorne's injunction (1986), quoted in Chapter One, for mixed schools to serve as examples of non-racial schooling for the future.

The data validates the advice offered by J. Nixon (1985), quoted in Chapter Four, for the multilingual class to pay attention to the affective atmosphere, and to encourage students' understanding of each other's learning experience. However, the teacher does not have total control over student interaction and the affective atmosphere, as was illustrated in this chapter. It is also debatable, to what extent and how overtly the teacher should intervene at this level.

The data also validates the point made by Nixon and referred to in Chapter Four, that multilingual schooling does involve a degree of domination and subordination by "those who consider themselves to be superior" (1985:33) - and surely, by those who consider themselves to be inferior! Whilst this was not an overriding feature of the case study class, aspects of this relationship did exist. The data shows how, in the South African context, these relationships are informed by issues of class, race, personality and, in particular, language.

The case study had some very specific dynamics, which would not all be replicated in every multilingual classroom, such as all L2 speakers being female. However, the interplay of communicative proficiency, personal characteristics and the South African context (feelings of prejudice or inferiority associated with being "black", differing educational backgrounds) is bound to affect the learning experience in any South African multilingual classroom, as it has done here. It will presumably not always do so with the same results or the same intensity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7 STUDENT RESPONSES TO THE TEACHING METHODOLOGY IN THE MULTILINGUAL CLASS

The first section of this chapter addresses Question Three posed in the introduction: "*Do the teaching techniques appear to have a positive effect on the linguistic and academic development of the L2 students without adversely affecting the L1 students?*" The data referred to in this section is comprised 'mostly of L1 and L2 students' perceptions of the value of the teaching techniques employed in the multilingual class.

The second section of this chapter is a response to Question Four: "*How much do the L2 students develop linguistically and academically in the English class throughout the year?*" The data in this section will consist of the L2 students' perceptions of their development, as well as of the academic results they obtained throughout the year. This section will reflect on the teaching techniques employed in the class, but it will also highlight the fact that there are a variety of factors which influence the academic development of L2 students, only one of which is the teaching technique. It will illustrate that teaching techniques need to be assessed in the educational context in which they are utilized, thus in relation to the goals of the system and the criteria for students' success.

7.1 PART ONE

STUDENT RESPONSES TO THE TEACHING TECHNIQUES

7.1.1 Comprehensible Input and Transmission Teaching

Input of lesson content or general communication in English was made more comprehensible or accessible in the case study

via interactive, as well as transmission-type methods. In order to make input comprehensible during transmission-type teaching, I would speak more slowly than if I were teaching L1 students only; explain more vocabulary on the board; provide students with typed notes on a variety of topics; and sometimes give simple, direct explanations which I would consider unnecessary if I were teaching L1 students only.

Transmission teaching is possibly the technique in which there was the most divergent reaction from L1 and L2 students. Some of the more advanced L1 students, or those used to working more autonomously, did not value this transmission format specifically, especially when it was modified for the sake of the L2 students. Yasmin^{L1}, for example, said in August that a specific lesson in which "The Celestial Omnibus" by E.M. Foster was explained from the front by me, was "very boring" (2:I-25b). Bennie^{L1} also said in September that there was too much spoonfeeding in the class (2:I-4b), and Willie^{L1} stated that at the beginning of the year he was shocked by the simplicity of the words explained on the board (2:1-24b). However, in Chapter Six it was mentioned that many weaker L1 students did value the modifications in teaching techniques which entailed making input more comprehensible. Many students such as Bruce^{L1}, Willie^{L1} or Colleen^{L1} said in interviews that they enjoyed a combination of transmission mode and interactive, group orientated techniques, depending on which was more appropriate for any particular activity.

L2 students generally appreciated the comprehensible, transmission teaching style. Sylvie^{L2} was probably the student who expressed this the most intensely, as it provided her with a sense of security (2:I-23b). This format was important for L2 students who often felt in class that they could not grasp the essence of fast-moving class discussions, or oral responses which they were unable to

note down as fast as other pupils. ¹ However, this need for security was not always positive, or to be encouraged by the teacher. It sometimes entailed a lack of confidence of the student in him/herself and in other students, as this comment of Sylvie's demonstrates:

I like (typed notes) because I became sure when I'm studying that I'm studying the right thing which comes straight from the teacher not from the student sometimes I don't trust the answers coming from the students. (1:Q-3)

Sanni^{L2} said she preferred exam-orientated work to the interactive, "fun work", as did Sindiswa^{L2}, who said: "We came here to work, not to play" (2:I-22c). To some extent pacing, degree of thoroughness and level of "comprehensibility" was a balance between the demands of the L2 students for overt, thorough presentation, and the demands of L1 students for excitement, and more quickly paced work.

My understanding of the differences between transmission-type and interactive teaching was enhanced by a discussion I had with Sue Nicolson, one of the outside observers used in the case study, after she observed a transmission mode lesson on appropriate style, legalese, jargon and officialese. I had pointed out to Sue the usefulness of transmission-type comprehensible input in the multilingual class, but indicated that there were limitations for L2 students owing to their lack of familiarity with English. She made two points in response: a language teacher can actually transmit much vocabulary and richness of a language to the students; secondly, even a lesson on style could have been taught more successfully to students, by letting them experience the mismatch of styles themselves first. ²

1. This information was obtained from my field-notes as well as from interviews.

2. See Appendix Five for extracts from this report. For a confirmation of the problem of learning about a language with a lack of personal experience of it, see Sue's interview with Sanni, Sylvie and Nosipho, quoted in Chapter Five.

As I agreed with much of what Sue was saying, I modified my teaching of this topic, and asked the class to write dialogues using appropriate and inappropriate style. These showed much understanding of the issues and led to interesting discussion in the class. Eventually the principle of inappropriate style was understood well by the whole class.

However, when presented with a text satirizing "officialese" from the Cape Times in the September 1988 exam, these same L2 students had grave difficulty identifying examples of officialese from the passage, as the vocabulary was unfamiliar and complex.

This illustrated the point that neither clear, transmission-type, nor interactive, experiential-type teaching as techniques can compensate for a student's lack of communicative proficiency in a language - a proficiency which should be developed through a general exposure to the language inside as well as outside the school. In addition, this illustrates that experiential, interactive teaching and transmission type teaching should not be pitted against each other as polar opposites, and that they sometimes suffer from the same weaknesses.

In terms of comprehensible input in the case study, a real problem emerged. It was possible to make all input, for example setwork, accessible to L2 students, either by a variety of teaching techniques or repetition of explanations in the extra lessons. However, the level of input in terms of the syllabus would remain too high for the L2 students right until the end of the year, unless it was mediated in these ways. This has implications for students facing

unseen texts in exams, as well as when they reach matric.³ Thus comprehensible input as was discussed in Chapter Three, is only partly useful or practicable in terms of students beginning to study in a second language so late in their academic careers.

7.1.2 Transmission of Ground-Rules

In Chapter Four the importance of imparting the ground-rules of a subject to students was noted. It was mentioned that this can be effected via overt, transmission-type teaching or via interactive and experiential teaching. In the case study it was beneficial to both L1 and L2 students to make ground-rules more *overtly* available during transmission teaching. An example of this was the typed memoranda provided for the students after each exam and some tests. L2 students such as Gudrun, Amelia and Sylvie, or L1 students such as Fern, Candy and Rifai, noted that these were useful, and Anwar^{L1} described how these helped him to orientate himself towards questions in tests or exams:

For me they are very useful. It shows me the way I should think in writing my answers. It gives me a bit of confidence that the next exam I'll do better. It shows me the way I should approach the subject... It gives me a better understanding of how to approach the question 'cos sometimes like I misunderstand the question, and totally off the topic. (1:Q-3)

From the above, it is evident that transmission of ground-rules can contribute to the level of analysed knowledge of L1 and L2 students.

3. These points will become clearer after the students' academic progress is referred to later in this chapter.

7.1.3 Comprehensible Input and Interactive Teaching

The form of interactive teaching utilised in the case study which most facilitated comprehensible input was group-work, which was utilized from early on in the case study. In response to feedback about its popularity with both L1 and L2 students, it was maintained as a teaching technique throughout the year, for much setwork activities, pre-writing discussion, grammar lessons, group editing sessions and comprehensions. In the very first attempt at group-work the students could choose the students with whom they wanted to work. From the February interviews it became evident that when it was time to divide into groups, some L1 students would rush off to be with their friends, leaving L2 neighbours to fend for themselves. Both Sylvie^{L2} and Sanni^{L2} mentioned this as a problem, because when they were left together, L2 speakers would not be able to practise speaking English. From then on I organized the class into five groups, each containing five students of mixed ability. I designated an overall coordinator and students had to choose a new reporter each session. Students remained in the same group for approximately one school term. In discussions about groups later in the year many students said that mixed groups organized by the teacher was the correct procedure for the class. This supports suggestions by R. Milk (1985) and Long and Porter (1985), referred to in Chapter Four, that attention should be paid to the management of groups, and that mixed language groups should be adopted.

Only two students in the case study indicated in the questionnaires that they were not in favour of groups. Janice^{L1} was ambivalent: she said they were irritating, although she learnt how to communicate better in them (2:I-14b). Sylvie^{L2} first stated that she felt free to

contribute in the groups (1:Q-2) but by November she said that she did not feel free to contribute in groups because strong students such as Willie^{L1} or Fern^{L1} answered everything and the other students only wrote down what these students said, which was "undermining" (2:I-23c). When interviewed, many L1 and L2 students conceded that there were problems with groups, but they all felt that the advantages definitely outweighed the disadvantages: Willie^{L1}, Jennie^{L1}, and Fern^{L1} all felt that they gave or spoke too much; Anwar^{L1} mentioned lazy or unco-operative students, and Bennie^{L1} conceded that disruptive students, like himself, were a problem.

Advantages of Group-work

The case study has demonstrated the effectiveness of peer group learning as documented by N. Hartman (1989), Long and Porter (1985). In Chapter Six of this dissertation the effectiveness of group-work in facilitating a positive affective atmosphere and in encouraging co-operative behaviour amongst students is mentioned. This aspect of group-work aided the students' academic development, as they could express themselves in a colloquial and rough draft mode. Peer discussions of academic topics increased the possibility of input becoming comprehensible for L2 students. Amelia^{L2} mentioned group-work making poetry comprehensible: "(Group-work) makes to be able to understand the poem more than you understand" (1:Q-2). Nomi (bilingual) explained how a more relaxed peer learning situation could facilitate students' understanding of the English syllabus:

You get to know each other and you turn to contribute more freely. Even if you say something wrong, you will be corrected by your group and they will make you feel better not stupid. It also help you understand things more clearer if

you are in a same age group than being told things by a teacher. (1:Q-2)

Group-work was able to encourage academic development via an interactive, experiential approach which facilitated comprehensible input. An example of this was when students had to dramatize Macbeth, discussed in this section of an interview between Sue Nicolson, Sanni, Nosipho and Sybil:

Sanni: Ja, like when I am reading Macbeth, I really enjoy it, I mean the, how, how evil it becomes and that really interests me.

Sue: And have you been able to understand it quite easily?

Sanni: Ja, er, the thing which made me understand it is group-work, because we were to act it out and then, that is when I really understood it better.

Nosipho: It was difficult to understand especially because of the language, but when I was acting in class I did understand. (2:1-29)

Group-work was sometimes shown to facilitate students' access to the ground-rules of a system. Adiel^{L1}, Rifai^{L1} and Hanief^{L1} mentioned in interviews and questionnaires that group-work taught them how to go about answering questions better. This may well be so, but whether they were able to apply these skills they learnt in exam conditions was not able to be proven in the case study itself.

Long and Porter (1985) mention that group-work increases motivation. Many students, including generally unmotivated students such as Adiel^{L1} and Shafiek^{L1}, said that group-work made English more "exciting".

Long and Porter's arguments (1985) that group-work provides quantity and quality of language practice, discussed in Chapter Four, was corroborated by L1 and L2 students in interviews. Candy^{L1} claimed group-work fostered her

confidence when communicating (2:I-8b). Nosipho^{L2} mentioned that group-work provided her with the opportunity for language practice:

I find it useful because we now learn how to speak to the other students. Groups also helps us to speak more English. (2:I-18c)

In this way group-work encourages the linguistic knowledge of L2 students to become more automatic.

Gudrun's^{L2} comments below illustrate that both transmission teaching and group-work facilitate an L2 student's development of communicative competence in English, each for different purposes:

Teacher: What helps your English more, my talking, or their (students in groups') talking?

Gudrun: Both of them, I think, because em, you say words I can learn, and they say easy words I can quickly remember, em, learn it, and maybe I speak like them, in the easy way I think but it's also good to hear you to learn better and really speaking, and so I think both of them. (2:I-12b)

Group-work was an important mechanism for L2 students to learn linguistic usage "naturalistically" from the L1 students. The transcript of the video with groups laying out newspapers in November shows important language usage which involved L2 and L1 students.⁴ The silly conversation and wordplay in the non-threatening environment in Sanni's^{L2} group illustrated this admirably, especially Nazeer's^{L1} use of "picturesque" and "black, blacker, blackest." It was also possible for custom and cultural references to be shared in this way, for example when Yasmin's^{L1} group were practising the dramatization of Macbeth, and Yasmin was seen teaching Nosipho^{L2} to fence.

4. See Appendix 4 for extracts from the transcript. For a definition of untutored acquisition as "naturalistic, see Ellis, 1986:5.

Some Limitations of Group-work

L2 students such as Gudrun or Sanni found that they participated little in the groups initially, thus their lack of communicative proficiency inhibited some of the L2 students from participating in the academic discourse as much as they would have liked to.

A similar limitation exists for group-work, as could be said to exist for transmission teaching: it is possible to use the groups to make material more comprehensible and for students to develop academic skills and understanding. However, in an exam situation there would be no group to mediate difficult idiomatic usage or vocabulary, so that a student's enhanced skills and understanding might well not be demonstrated. This is one explanation why L2 students' termwork, including work done partly in groups, showed so much more improvement in the case study than work done in the exams.

Whilst interactive techniques and group-work allowed L2 students to participate more than they might otherwise have done, they needed more backup than L1 students in the form of transmission teaching, such as notes or first draft versions of answers. In tests and exams it was observed that the L2 students and weaker L1 students might have understood much of what transpired in the class and in the texts, but were less able to express this in the required "first draft" mode, than stronger L1 students. L2 students were also less able to capture points made in fast-flowing discussion or report-backs, especially to note them down in their own words, than L1 students. This was observed in field-notes throughout the year.

Thus whilst L2 students definitely acknowledged the usefulness of group-work, as did L1 students, they suffered

more from the stress it involved, as well as the limitations it contained. These factors militate against the wholehearted embracing of group-work by a teacher such as myself, a temptation encouraged by the positive indications of group-work in the literature discussed in Chapter Four.

7.1.4 The Process Approach to Writing

The process approach to writing was utilized for creative writing, transactional pieces (for example formal letters, letters to the press) as well as setwork essays. It involved any of the following activities, though not all for each session: two talks by an outside speaker about the process of writing; prewriting activities (in groups or with the whole class); freewriting; group editing; editing in pairs; students reading out passages to the class; teacher marking of essays with detailed comments; as well as discussions about how to plan or brainstorm an essay, or how to edit one's own work.

During the first set of marking in pairs, for an essay in May, many students, especially L2 students, were very unconfident. An example of this is the behaviour of Sanni^{L2}, who repeatedly asked me for help. Comments tended to be rather bald and unsympathetic the first time round. This is illustrated by Amelia's^{L2} comment about Nosipho's^{L2} essay:

Your story is not much interesting. You must put some facts so that it sounds well. And when you talking about what happened in past you must use past tense not present.

Field-notes for the second session of rough draft editing later in May show that many of the comments, such as Amelia's^{L2} and Nosipho's^{L2}, were longer and more developed,

and that students were generally more confident about their marking.

Student Feedback

Feedback about the writing sessions varied greatly, which makes generalizing about this process difficult. For example, for the same initial writing session in early May, students such as Nosipho^{L2}, Bennie^{L1} and Jenny^{L1} found the markers' comments useful; Gudrun^{L2}, Amelia^{L2} and Willie^{L1} also changed their rough drafts, but not in terms of comments made by the markers. Brandon^{L1} claimed that the brainstorming prewriting session improved his final mark "by 20%" (1:Q-2), whereas Sylvie^{L2} did not feel confident about her essay after the brainstorming session: "I did not understand what the topic was about" (1:Q-2). Another example of students responding to different aspects of the process would be Janice^{L1}, who learnt much from the talks on brainstorming and planning (Q-4), but said she did not find listening to other students' essays interesting: "When other people read their essays I tend to switch off. I think most of the class do that" (Q-20). Ironically, many students cited Janice's essays as the ones which inspired them the most.

Positive Features of the Process Approach

As with group-work, teaching writing in this student-centred, co-operative manner had a positive motivational effect on the class. This was noted by Sue Nicolson during a lesson she observed in which students marked each other's business letters in pairs, and handed in a joint product. It became evident from the interviews that L1 and L2 students took their writing work seriously and were committed to it. This was clear from the way they were able

to discuss their work with me, and from direct comments such as that of Jenny's^{L1} in August:

Jenny: I'm working harder now in English, mm, like for essays I'll try harder, I'll write something that's, I'll write it again, that sort of thing.

Teacher: Did you do that before?

Jenny: No, I just sommer did anything and handed it in. (2:I-15b)

Field-notes reveal that when working in pairs, stronger students were often eager to help weaker students, and that the weaker student was ready to receive this help. For example, Janice^{L1} enthusiastically gave Brandon^{L1} much constructive criticism of his writing. Sometimes this relationship would be frustrating for the stronger student, as this interview with Fern^{L1} about the set of joint letters she wrote with Gudrun^{L2} reveals:

Fern: That was terrible, because I actually wrote most of her letter, I don't now how she's going to get through, because her English isn't...

Teacher: She isn't improving?

Fern: It's not improving, she writes the way she speaks, which is, the short sentences that don't make sense, it is very difficult.

Teacher: Okay, so do you find that frustrating?

Fern: Ja, that is one thing. (2:I-11b)

A second advantage of student marking is that as with group-work, it can be a less intimidating forum for students to learn about their mistakes and to develop academically. Nosipho^{L2} in May in the extra lessons class, said that she felt it less intimidating to have a fellow student, rather than a teacher, criticize her work. An incident from the same extra lessons highlights why this could be less intimidating, but also points out the limitations in the long run. Sylvie^{L2} was marking a piece of writing of Siyasanga^{L2} (from the other standard nine class) and she said the word "guy", which he had used, was "not nice". He seemed to understand her point. I would have said the term

was too "conversational" or "colloquial". Whilst my words might have been more intimidating for Siyasanga, they are the ones he or Sylvie would need to know for the English grammar exams.

The process approach also had the advantage that with peer marking, students pointed out some deep or surface errors to others, so that when I received the piece, I could comment on other errors; the whole piece did not get demolished at once, and some learning occurred along the way. This way was also less overwhelming for the student, who did not get a piece handed back with endless corrections, and went a little way towards dealing with the opaqueness of the product written by a student whose use of English was not at an advanced stage of the interlanguage. ⁵

Learning about the skills of essay writing was a feature of the overall process approach mentioned by both L1 and L2 students. The use of planning and rough drafts were specifically mentioned by Jenny^{L1}, Brandon^{L1}, Janice^{L1} and Nosipho^{L2}. Sindiswa^{L2} - like Jenny^{L1} - mentioned the importance of ordering points correctly:

I learnt a lot because I now know how to arrange my paragraphs not just mixing facts. Mixing facts makes your composition less interesting, but if you sort them out nicely. Everybody will enjoy it. (Sindiswa, 1:Q-3)

The claim advanced by Raimes (1987a), discussed in Chapter Four, that the process approach allows students to experiment with and focus on writing, was demonstrated by Sylvie^{L2}. She wrote in her November questionnaire that what she learnt about essay writing helped to improve her own English:

5. See Chapter Three for references to the interlanguage and errors which are not that easily explained in terms of the students' language development.

I have learnt many things like how to correct each other's work and how to see your mistakes in your writting and doing a rough draft before you do your final draft and these have helped my English to improve a lot. (1:Q-4)

Listening to students read out essays in the case study had the advantage noted by T. Graman (1988) and D. Johnson (1989) and referred to in Chapter Four, of fostering awareness of the mechanics of essay writing, and an ability to think analytically about essays. Thus it facilitated the transmission of ground-rules in a non-overt, pupil-centred format. It provided students with a sense of what is possible in an essay, and had great motivational value for those who read out their work, as well as for those who listened (except Janice^{L1}).

Anwar^{L1} learnt about the importance of the sense of audience:

I have learnt more of how to write a better essay topic and how to show my imagination to the reader on paper as if he was their. (1:Q-3)

Sanni^{L2} learnt about the value of an introduction and expressive writing:

yes I did enjoy listening to other student reading out their poem because by reading out their poems I also got an idea how to make you introduction interesting so that the reader must be interested and want to read all want you have written. Jenny's one really taught me how to go about with your introduction. I also like the style of Nomi's essay because I also wrote about the same topic but I gained from her that in order to make it interesting it must be emotional. (1:Q-3.)

Sanni was clearly able to use what she learnt here, in that for practically every written essay of hers since June, she

utilized a striking introduction. She did not succeed in making personal writing as "emotional", to the same extent.

Sylvie^{L2} found listening to others read out their essays encouraging:

Yes I enjoyed them, they make me want to try and write interesting essay. Reading essay in a classroom encourages other student eg. like me. I was very interested to all the essays which were readen out by my classmates. Next time I want to write a interesting essay like others. (1:Q-3)

Nomi (bilingual) felt finally "recognized" when she read her essay out: "I felt great in a way. I was finally recognized and I also achieved motivation (1:Q-3)".

Similarly, Nosipho^{L2} felt her writing was validated by the response of the class:

I did enjoy that reading of essay. The other thing. I didn't think my essay will be the one of them. When I started reading my essay I felt shy not knowing that they will like my essay. When I was reading that piece with coffins hanging around they started laughing, that made me see that they did like it. (1:Q-3)

Not all students felt gratified when reading out their work, as Sylvie^{L2} pointed out:

I was so nervous when I read mine out. I don't want to do that again because there are some students in the class who like to make silly comments about the others work. They said you are favouring me very much. (1:Q-3)

Despite Sylvie's negative response, Rifai^{L1} and Brandon^{L1} both said in interviews that hearing Sylvie read out her work made them aware of her academic abilities, as she otherwise spoke so little. This supports the claim made by S. Romaine (1984) and J. Millar (1983), mentioned in Chapter

Four, that encouraging the participation and positive features of students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds would have a positive effect on the students' attitude towards each other, and would bring a greater variety of "voices" or discourses into the class.

Some Limitations of the Process Approach

One limitation of this approach was that the L2 students did not benefit equally from criticism received from peers or the teacher. Sylvie^{L2} and Sanni^{L2} indicated an analytic awareness of the types of errors they made in interviews, and their actual writing showed improvement in terms of the weaknesses they mentioned. Nosipho^{L2}, however, was not so sure that the editing exercises were altogether useful. Although she did mention some points she learnt from the process approach, she also said that she could see other people's mistakes, but not her own (2:I-18c). This observation of Nosipho's was born out by my field-notes, which showed she was unable to incorporate successfully many of the criticisms made by her peers or by me.

Similarly, both Gudrun^{L2} and Amelia^{L2} demonstrated during the year that they were unable to respond successfully to changes to rough drafts made by other students or me, and would hand in work containing the same basic misinterpretations of the title, as in their rough drafts.⁶ It would seem that students can only deal with suggestions for improvement if their knowledge of the language or subject matter is adequate to the task; the knowledge of each L2 student varies and they are thus unequally able to learn from the process approach to writing. This concurs with D. Pratt's 1987 case study of the process approach, where it was demonstrated that some students were more clearly able to benefit from this approach than others.

6. Information obtained in field-notes.

A limitation of the process approach similar to that of group-work which affected both L1 and L2 students, was the fact that in an exam situation, one is either too pressurized by time, or the exam ethos, to work slowly and carefully. This echoes the findings of Pratt (1987:10). D. Horowitz (1986:143) was more negative, when he suggested that a product-oriented approach could be more appropriate in this situation. Brandon^{L1} said that Janice's^{L1} marking of his essay helped his vocabulary and his seeing some, but not all, of his mistakes. However, in an exam he did not have time for a rough draft, so the effect of this was diminished (2:I-6b). Sindiswa^{L2} also mentioned that in June she did plan her essay, but did not have time to do a rough draft, as in any case she finished late (2:I-22b). Raimes (1983:section for teachers) believes that the transfer of skills to the exam situation would occur. However, it is not clear to what extent this transfer has occurred in the case study.

One negative factor associated with the L2 students and freewriting is their lack of confidence or enjoyment of spontaneous writing situations. From my own previous experience I had the notion that students often enjoy what they have written in freewriting sessions, because in the process their thoughts become revealed to them. However, when I gave the L2 students in the extra lessons in November a freewriting exercise on what they had learnt and experienced in the past year, the response was flat, and they felt they did not discover much. Their reason was that their English was too weak for them to express themselves in this manner. In retrospect I think this was a sign of lack of confidence, rather than true inability. When I went through the freewriting passages I noted some very interesting and concrete, or rich detail, some of which was left out by the students in their second rough drafts. In

line with A. Raimes' (1987a:39) suggestion that the teacher needs to show L2 students how this can be utilized for future tasks, I did attempt to make this link clear to the students.

It must be kept in mind that writing does not occur in a vacuum, and the final outcome of the process also depends on a student's other literacy-related activities, or other input they are receiving. It was clear from the questionnaires that many of the students in the class, L1 and L2, did not read much, if at all, and had not read many books or newspapers in the past. However much the L2 students were reading, or however much literacy-related input they were receiving in their daily lives, these complementary elements in the development of their writing were not contributing sufficiently, in order to bring them to the level of the L1 students in such a short space of time. This factor has affected the development of the students' writing skills fundamentally.

What has become clear from the data thus far, is that both L1 and L2 students benefitted from the process approach to writing. It is an appropriate method for the multilingual class, as it allowed L1 and L2 students to learn from each other as well as from the teacher. However, L2 students needed more practice at writing in English and exposure to written English than they received in the case study, even with the extra lessons. Thus whilst the claims advanced for this approach by A. Raimes (1983) and D. Johnson (1989) are valid, ⁷ this approach is not a sufficient factor in the fostering of L2 students' writing skills.

Extra Lessons for L2 Students

The final adaptation in teaching technique in the

7. These were discussed at length in Chapter Four.

multilingual class to be dealt with in this chapter, is the extra lessons for L2 students. In the case study the standard nine L2 students were provided with extra English lessons twice a week, approximately 45 minutes each, which began in late February, one month after the beginning of the school term. All standard nine L2 students were told that these were compulsory. Standard Eight and Ten students were invited to attend, but it was not compulsory for them to do so. Attendance was consistent for the standard nines, except for Gudrun, who was often absent from school.

Lessons were of four basic types: English communication, including discussions, drama, word-games; skills provision, such as answering comprehensions or unseen poems, planning essays; repetition of work covered in the actual English class; and a little second language-type grammar and dictation.

One clear indication from the extra lessons was the usefulness of the lessons being given by the same person who taught the students English every day. Because I taught the students, I had some idea what their needs would be in the extra lessons; here L2 students could provide important feedback about how they were faring in the normal English lessons. A danger of the same person teaching the class and providing the extra lessons is that any short-comings of the teacher would be replicated in the extra lessons. Unfortunately this issue was not researched in the case study, and cannot be commented on.

I was also aware of the work being covered in class, thus what should be revised, before tests or exams. The fact that I could rehearse the students more directly for what they would be examined on, contributed directly to their sense of the extra lessons as useful, and boosted their morale. I could also prepare them for work which was to

come. An example of this was in May, when I was about to teach the poem "The Thought Fox" by Ted Hughes to the standard nines in a drama-across-the-curriculum mode, without straightforwardly going over the content. I knew this would be too difficult for the L2 students, so I taught the poem to them in transmission mode in the extra lesson the previous day. Their response to a short questionnaire after the lesson to the whole class showed that they did benefit from the pre-lesson. Gudrun, Sylvie and Amelia preferred the preparatory extra lesson because it was clearer to follow, thus indicating a preference for transmission-type lessons. Sanni and Nosipho preferred the full class lesson because it was more fun. Sanni said that she could enjoy the full class lesson because I had explained the poem the day before, although Nosipho said she actually understood the poem from the full class lesson, because she enjoyed the acting. This was representative of Nosipho's preference for drama and experiential learning, which she expressed in interviews and via her behaviour in class. This emphasizes the point that different teaching techniques are more suited to different individuals.

An additional advantage was the motivational factor, where I could use the extra lessons to build up a relationship with the L2 students of the case study, particularly as they were so marginalised in the normal classes and did not express their needs as forcibly as the L1 students.

Assessing the Extra Lessons

At the end of the year, L2 students admitted for the first time that at the beginning of the year they felt resentful about being required to attend the extra lessons after school, when the other students went home. This supported the claim by Cohen and Swain (1979:145) that pull-out programmes can be counter-productive in that they might

stigmatize L2 students. Sylvie mentioned this initial resentment during the last extra lesson, and said that when her marks improved, she changed her attitude towards attending these classes. In the November interview Sanni said that having to attend extra lessons made her embarrassed initially: "At first I felt that the other students, maybe they think that we are stupid when we are given extra classes" (2:I-20c). Sanni went on to say how the extra lessons helped her academically, because the work could be repeated without worrying about the L1 students' irritation:

Sanni: You know Brenda, if we had a problem, maybe we are given an essay or something like that, we'll come to you and say to you, ok, "I'm having a problem" like this and discuss in the extra classes and then, marks are boosted up and when we, the short stories, when we are having a problem we are coming to tell you that we don't understand this and this and we discuss in the extra classes and when we discuss it, here in the extra classes, it is more, it is more interesting than in the class because in the class, er, some people understand better than we do, and so, we feel shy, to no, so we feel shy, I mean it's going to be boring to them, we must also think about for the other so it's going to be bor, so they are going to get bored. (2:I-22c)

Here Sanni provided most of the reasons the L2 students felt the extra lessons were helpful: they helped with the academic load; they provided a space for the L2 students to enjoy the English work more, because they were less inhibited by the L1 students. These remarks were echoed by Sylvie, Gudrun, Amelia and Sindiswa, who stressed in various interviews that in the extra lessons, they could all share the same problems and that "no one's going to laugh" (Sindiswa, 2:I-22a). Nosipho said in the November interview that the extra lessons provided her with some of the general knowledge which was necessary for English, "knowledge about what's going on outside ...I didn't have" . She revealed an

interesting dynamic, when asked why the extra lessons were so useful in the case study, whereas the previous year she was given extra lessons by me privately and those did not seem to be as helpful:

Teacher: But my question to you is this: last year you didn't understand so well, and this year you understand better; but now, last year I gave you extra lessons as well; they weren't as useful as the lessons this year?

Nosipho: I can say, there, they were, but because I was still afraid to speak to you and because of my English last year, they haven't made a difference. (2:I-18c)

This quote illustrates how the extra lessons on their own did not improve Nosipho's fluency in English. Her growing confidence in 1988 allowed her to benefit more from the extra lessons than she did the previous year. This comment by Nosipho was echoed by many statements of the other L2 students, who saw the extra lessons as *the* intervention which helped them, as it was concrete, easy to identify and provided the students with psychological support. However, we see that all aspects of their experience were working in tandem. This supports the opinion that one intervention working in a vacuum would not be that useful in the long-term, and that if one wants to make the life of L2 students in an English L1 environment easier, one should attempt to modify as many aspects of the learning environment as possible in the general lessons, as well as via the extra lessons (D. Milk, 1985:660).

Thus far this chapter has demonstrated that the adaptations of teaching techniques for the sake of the L2 students in the multilingual classroom were perceived by L1 and L2 students to have been mostly beneficial. Through my daily observations, I also perceived these techniques to have been beneficial. This lends credence to the argument of Milk (1985:666) in support of integrating L2 students and L2

teaching techniques into the mainstream. Together with Chapter Six, this section has provided a positive scenario for future multilingual classes. It goes some way towards Hartshorne's request for private non-racial schools to:

...teach South Africa about what happens when children from different backgrounds are brought together in the classroom. (Hartshorne, 1986:126)

We need to examine "what happens" from an additional, more sober angle, and that is, what happens to L2 students from DET schools academically when they enter classes at private, non-racial schools? Part of what happens has been demonstrated in Chapter Five, where the effects of the previous academic and linguistic experience of the L2 students, on their learning in a multilingual class, were illustrated. I shall now examine how far L2 students can develop in the multilingual class within the space of one year, in the context of a modified teaching methodology.

7.2 SECTION TWO

L2 STUDENTS' LINGUISTIC AND ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENT

7.2.1 L2 Students' Perceptions

L2 students in the case study felt that the aspect of their development in which they noticed the most progress was that of interpersonal communication. Nosipho noted her increased communicative competence as early as July:

Yes, I feel my English has improved this year especially communication style. I also have more confidence in speaking because I'm not shy anymore to speak with the other students. (2:I-18b)

Gudrun quoted her friends' opinion of her progress as testimony of her increased fluency in English in October (2:I-12b). However, in the same interview she still did not follow everything that was said in the class:

No, not, em, em, some, ja, ja sometimes I hear words I'm not sure, but if you go on then I can say it's going over that and you must do that... (2:I-12b)

Thus by the end of the year Gudrun had still not achieved full proficiency in English for academic purposes. Similarly, Sanni noted in November that although she was more confident and fluent when speaking to her peers, she could not follow fast-flowing class discussions, and was still too aware of her mistakes to speak in the class spontaneously (2:I-20c).

L2 students generally noted increasing confidence and ability with regard to the academic aspects of English, as testified by Sanni, who was already feeling more confident by August, and was pleased that her marks had increased. About her writing, she said:

Ja, it's changed because when I, I, some, last week when I went over my first essay, that about school and I saw how, stupid mistakes I did, but now they, they have changed. (2:I-20b)

At the attitudinal level, towards the end of the year most of the L2 students were less demoralized than they were during the first and second terms. They had become more goal-directed and had developed a comparatively independent attitude towards learning:

I also learnt that if I want to no English vocabulary I must read books and watch TV... The most significant thing I've learnt this year is that a person must not give up she must keep on trying. Like me I didn't know that I can get at least 40%. Last year that was very difficult to me. I hope next year I will do better. (Nosipho, 1:Q-4)

Thus in terms of communicative proficiency, academic achievement and attitudinal changes the L2 students were aware that their English had improved, but that they still had much to learn.

7.2.2 L2 Students' Performance in Creative and Analytic Writing

On the whole, the writing skills of the L2 students improved over the year, more in some cases than others, and each student made gains in one or more of the different aspects of the writing process: content, cohesion, quality of expression, surface or deep grammatical structures. However the gains were slight, and at the end of the year the L2 students still showed clear signs of not writing in their first language. The extent of the default in each of the writing skills varied amongst the L2 students a great deal. A glance at the comments of Sue Nicolson, who assessed a variety of scripts of Nosipho, Sylvie and Sanni confirms that there was not a major improvement over all the categories of skills for the L2 students, certainly not the ones whose work she assessed.⁸ During a conversation about her report, Sue admitted that one of the reasons why she felt there was no significant improvement, was because her expectations were so high, especially in the context of the adaptations in the case study for the sake of the L2 students. I have included a table of the results received by the L2 students for their class writing assignments for 1988. This table illustrates graphically the relative development (or lack thereof) of the L2 students for the reader. The table is in itself the result of my subjective responses as a teacher, and some of the variables which inform these marks are explained below.

8. See Appendix Five.

SUMMARY OF TABLE TWO: ⁹

% RESULTS OF WRITING ASSIGNMENTS OF L2 STUDENTS IN 1988

(Tasks accomplished in class or at home)

	21.1 cr.wr.	4.2 diar	7.3 cr.	8.5 prej	27.5 scho	28.7 setw	81.8 lett	31.8 dial	24.10 setw	1.11 news
Amelia	clear	45	50	40	46	60	-	60	40	60
Gudrun	v. weak	35	-	41	50	40	63	-	50	55
Nosipho	weak, errors	40	45	43	43	40	70	47	40	60
Sanni	clear, errors	45	55	47	63	73	63	53	64	75
Sindiswa	clear, errors	40	55	43	60	47	63	47	56	70
Sylvie	interest, err:	60	65	50	80	67	70	57	70	60

From this summary of Table Two, it is evident that the bulk of the improvement in the writing of the L2 students is between January and late May. For example, Sindiswa's marks increased from 40% in February, to 60% for her essay in late May. This trend is reflected in Table Three as well. It is also evident that the results varied according to the complexity of the task and the manner in which it was accomplished, as well as according to the specific skills and interests of the individual students. For example, a network essay was more academically demanding than a dialogue, and a set of letters written by a pair of students benefitted the weaker student significantly. For example, Nosipho received 40% for both her network essays, which was lower than many of her other results; on the other hand, Sylvie and Sanni did comparatively better at network essays than at creative writing. Some of the results were higher than what the same students would receive in an exam, because of the support received from the teacher or the group. This would explain why Gudrun received such a high mark for the business letter she wrote, with much help from

9. For the full version of this table with comments about each L2 students' written assignments, see Appendix 6. The second column of the table indicates the responses I made in my fieldnotes for the first piece of creative writing, as I did not give students a mark for their first piece.

Fern^{L1}. A student would have a draft corrected before handing the final copy to be marked by the teacher. This would explain why Sanni received 70% for a setwork essay on Macbeth: she handed a rough draft to me for comment, and very ably improved it in response to the suggestions I made. In addition, I rewarded L2 students for what appeared to be exciting developments, with the result that their marks were over-inflated in terms of the mean, and that the students were later disappointed when they received similar marks for better work later in the year, once I began marking their work more in line with the expectations of the L1 students.

Inadequate Marking System

Problems with the system of marking used for writing assignments were similar to those for class assignments and exams, and are worth examining in some detail. I hope to show how testing will be an important feature of the multilingual class, and one which needs much ironing out if these classes become more common.

The first problem with the marking of L2 students' work in the case study is that the marker needs a thorough understanding of the L2 students' interlanguage at each stage, and an ability to identify real progress in the student's written work. Despite the current availability of theory about Second Language Acquisition, such detailed analysis is not available, especially with reference to South African speakers of English as a second language.

Secondly, even if such detailed knowledge did exist, from my experience of the expectations of English students at the college, the understanding of what constitutes progress for L2 students and the expectations of L1 English students at present, would be in conflict. Indications of progress in the writing of L2 students should be: greater confidence,

fluency, ability to express more complex ideas, coherence, use of varied vocabulary and experimentation with the language. These would all be relevant criteria for L1 students. However, for L1 students these factors are given far less weight than are originality, the absence of errors and appropriateness of expressions.

Thirdly, the issue of expectations becomes problematic. From personal experience, I found it tempting to reward L2 students richly for any evidence of improvement, as at the moment of marking these developments appeared highly significant. This temptation also sprang from the need to motivate L2 students, with the understanding that this would encourage them to work harder in future (R. Ellis, 1986:199). As Sue Nicolson's report illustrates, these apparent advances paled into insignificance when the writing was assessed against the backdrop of the tremendous effort made by some of the L2 students, and the effort made by me, with the teaching modifications. Even more problematic is the fact that the marking had to indicate the L2 students' result *in relation to the rest of the class*. Even when an L2 student's work improved, this did not necessarily mean that their position in relation to the rest of the class changed, or that their mark received would change.

These points will be relevant for Tables Three and Four, and will thus not be repeated each time.

Class Tests and Homework Assignments

From Table Three it would seem that classwork for the L2 students improved a little in the first, even second term, but then levelled out: Sindiswa's work increased from "very weak", to 25%, to 43% in May. Her marks continued to fluctuate, although at one point they increased to 55%. It is also evident that results were far higher than those

received by the same students in the exams, testifying to some of the points made earlier in this chapter about the way processes like group-work and the process approach to writing enabled second language students to perform better than they would without these mediating factors. Amelia, for example, received marks of 72% and 60% for term work on two occasions, but did not receive more than 53% in the exams.

TABLE THREE:
% RESULTS FOR TERM-TIME ASSIGNMENTS AND TESTS THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

	Compre Group, h.w. 2.2	Lang test 8.2	Lang test 26.2	Compre group, h.w. 25.4	Lan test 28.4	Compre setwo. h.w. 15.5	Precis h.w. 9.8	Lang test 20.8	Lang test 3.11
Amelia	v. weak	39	72	56	55	—	<u>60</u>	56	54
Gudrun	v. weak	—	38	40	.5	—	<u>55</u>	20	38
Nosipho	weak	25	59	64	50	—	40	50	44
Sanni	ok	57	55	68	40	76	60	70	58
Sindiswa	v. weak	25	42	46	30	43	<u>55</u>	30	52
Sylvie	—	36	49	86	60	66	65	63	66

("Group" indicates that the work was discussed in groups; "h.w." indicates that the work was completed at home.) Students did not receive marks for their first assignments. The comments in the first column are derived from my field-notes. Underlined marks for the Precis task indicated that although the students passed on style and content, they failed due to excess words.

7.2.3 Term-End Examinations

TABLE FOUR:
% TERM END RESULTS THROUGHOUT THE YEAR, WITH CLASS AVERAGES
(term work included in these calculations)

	March	June	September	November
Amelia	49	46	53	50
Gudrun	32	39	—	33
Nosipho	39	47	43	42
Sanni	58	63	64	65
Sindiswa	37	51	45	46
Sylvie	58	64	62	61
Class Average	56	61	60	59

Table Four reveals that of the L2 students, only Sindiswa and Sanni improved in relation to the class average. I initially expected all the L2 students, who were supposed to overcome their initial language "handicap", to improve in relation to the L1 students. Nosipho and Sylvie gained 3% from March to November, in keeping with the class average; Amelia and Gudrun only increased by 1%. This table must be viewed in conjunction with Tables Two and Three, which show results earlier than the end of March, and which thus, together with this table, provide together an overall perspective of minor rather than major advances.¹⁰

The exams increased in terms of complexity, intellectual demands, work covered and length, from the first to last terms. The marking of exam scripts for the L2 students also became more demanding each term. Thus whilst the L2 students were certainly able to keep up with the rest of the students as the work became more difficult, they did not succeed significantly in changing their positions in the class in terms of marks, which meant that they did not succeed in reducing their L2 status to any significant extent.

Table Four also illustrates a point which is fairly obvious, but needs to be stated nevertheless: that the results of L2 students, like those of L1 students, vary a great deal. This implies that generalizability about L2 students' development is limited. Secondly, it illustrates the point that individual learner factors and societal factors play an important role in determining the outcome of the L2 student's development, and that these limit or enhance the effect of the input and direct instruction provided by the language teacher.

10. One difficulty with interpreting these test results is that no initial test was given to the L2 students, so that progress cannot easily be assessed.

7.2.4 English Matriculation Results of Case Study L2 Students

I have included a list of the final English matriculation results obtained by the L2 students in the case study in 1989, even though the Standard Ten year was not part of the case study, and I did not teach the L2 students in matric. One of the students, Amelia, had moved to another college. The table does not reveal the variables affecting the L2 students' results, such as anxiety, amount of preparation for the exam by the students, or the increased volume of work in Standard Ten. However, the table does allow for pertinent points to be made, as will be revealed below.

TABLE FIVE:

% RESULTS OBTAINED BY L2 STUDENTS FROM THE CASE STUDY IN THEIR FINAL ENGLISH MATRICULATION EXAMS

Student	Result
Amelia	37
Gudrun	21
Nosipho	35
Sanni	50
Sindiswa	38
Sylvie	37

A comparison of this table with Table Four yields the following interesting information: there is slightly less variety amongst the results of the L2 students in matric, than there was at the end of Standard Nine. For example, in the matric results four students obtained between 35% and 38%. In Standard Nine, only two students obtained a score within 5% of each other. A tentative deduction based on

this difference, could be that the marking in Standard Nine made allowances for the fact that these students were L2 English speakers, and thus placed more emphasis on content and understanding, than did the marking in matric. If this is so, then the marking in matric would effectively be penalizing the L2 students for their lack of proficiency in written English at the level of surface errors. A similar effect could be achieved if the exam papers were particularly difficult. However, it is the opinion of the Matic English teacher at the college and myself, that the final matric papers were comparatively easy.

There were a number of disappointing results received by L1 students in the case study in their final exam in 1989. For example, Janice obtained 63% for English, and Haneefa received 31%. This illustrates that many students do achieve lower results in their final exams than during their school careers. This broader perspective does not attenuate the gravity of the situation facing the L2 students in the case study, and of L2 students more broadly. At the very least, this table demonstrates the limited effectiveness of one year of modified teaching techniques for L2 students in their latter high school years.

The relative lack of progress of the L2 students in the multilingual class where teaching technique has been modified, could lead to any of the following conclusions:

- The teaching techniques were inadequate, given the educational context and examining system. They should possibly have been more product-oriented, and less process-oriented. Modifications for L2 students, such as increased comprehensible input and motivation-orientated marking were not useful.

- Examinations are inadequate, because they fail to recognize the advances made by L2 students in English, when these are not at the level of superficial, product-related improvements.
- The previous training of the L2 students was so inadequate that more than one year would be required for them to accommodate themselves to the new standard. Alternatively, one year is insufficient for students to attain full academic proficiency in a second language (Cummins and Swain, 1986:45).
- Classroom technique is not the only or prime factor influencing L2 students' development: factors such as exposure to English in the students' daily life, i.e. naturalistic acquisition, or the students' personalities are more influential than the teaching technique.

I would argue that all of the above factors are relevant to the case study, and go towards explaining the results achieved by the L2 students. They have all been addressed in previous theory or data chapters, thus they are not inconsistent with the arguments being advanced in the dissertation. These limitations should not be seen in a purely negative light, but in combination with the positive aspects of these modifications, which have been described in Section One of this Chapter. The limitations do not detract from the main thrust of the dissertation, that multilingual classes in the South African situation are educationally important. However, they do point to the need for further investigation into multilingual classes. It remains to be seen which of these factors are central, and which more peripheral. In the next chapter I shall be discussing further research into these factors, or into possible solutions to some of the dilemmas they pose.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8 REFLECTIONS ON THE RESEARCH

All methods and all forms of representation are partial and because they are partial, they limit, as well as illuminate what through them we are able to experience. (E. Eisner, 1988:19)

This chapter will begin with an assessment of the research design utilized in the case study. It will show both the strengths and weaknesses of the study, and stress the importance of further research in the classroom. The second section contains recommendations for further research in the field of English teaching in South Africa. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the research findings contained in this dissertation.

8.1 SECTION ONE

ASSESSING THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Data in this chapter will be addressed in order to answer Question Five posed in the introduction, "*How useful was this research design, and is it worth replicating in the future?*"

8.1.1 Impact on the Class

On the whole, the intrusion of the research design on the class was evident, but minimal. Having the outside observers, Wendy and Sue, sit in on the class seemed to make no difference at all. Students were mildly interested in the presence of Wendy, but by the time Sue came along they paid her no interest at all. Sue and Wendy both stated in their reports that they felt the students were very natural in their presence.

The videoing session of a lesson did seem to have a negative effect on some students. The video itself reveals that a substantial minority were actively intimidated when the video was focussed on their group. Two or three students went to the other extreme of showing off in front of the video.¹ This was corroborated in several interviews, where for example Amelia^{L2} (2:I-2c) said she was embarrassed when the video was focussing on her group. Rifai^{L1}, one of the students who showed off in front of the video, said in the questionnaire, he "hated it" (1:Q-4). However, it did have educational benefits for the class: when I showed the video back to the students they enjoyed it very much. They made some pertinent comments about themselves and others, and were able to point out where the video distorted the reality, for example, where it showed someone in a group doing all the work, when this was not in fact the case.²

Most students seemed to enjoy being interviewed by me or Sue, except for Janice^{L1}, who stated in October that she did not like it, although she thought most of the other students did.

One interesting aspect of the research process is how students' attitudes towards the research questions became more responsible, thorough and mature as the year progressed. This is evident from responses to the questionnaires, which became longer and more complex by the second or third set. A class discussion in groups in August, in response to the report of the research in progress, showed how seriously the students were prepared to consider questions raised by the research around language and participation. Yasmin^{L1} said that the discussion

1. See Appendix Four for extracts of the transcript of the video.

2. This discussion was noted in my field-notes.

about the report-back was the most animated it had been the whole year (2:I-25b).

8.1.2 Students' Responses

In the November questionnaire students were asked how they found being part of a research project. Unfortunately several students did not understand the question, and related it to the videoing session – it is not clear how many students were confused in this way. Nine students said they were excited by being part of a research project; three students said they were excited by it initially; eight students said it made no difference; four gave no answer, or an answer which did not make sense.

In line with D. Allwright's statement (1988:248) that research techniques should be directly beneficial to the participants and should facilitate their self-knowledge, second language students in particular saw the research as benefitting their language learning. Sanni^{L2} saw the research as facilitating her own expression of needs and problems:

I think that was helpful because it is through the research interviews that we were able to tell our views about our colleagues and our weak points in English. (1:Q-4)

Nosipho^{L2} saw the project globally; she saw the extra lessons, which benefitted her directly, as part of the research project:

Being a part of a research project didn't bothered me because the one like the extra lessons help me to get more understanding in English. And when we have to be interviewed I was happy because that was where I can express my feeling about English. (1:Q-4)

Brandon^{L1} found the interviews and questionnaires useful, as they provided him with an opportunity to look at his own academic development:

I felt it was a worthwhile experience to convey one's thoughts about English as we have never done this, and to notice how much we have benefitted. (1:Q-4).

P. Lather's criterion of catalytic validity (1986:267) was satisfied for some students only, who achieved a measure of self-knowledge through the research process. Several of the L1 students said the research, especially my occasional formal and informal report-backs on the research made them more sensitive to the class dynamics. Clive, Fern, Willie and Anwar (all L1) mentioned the usefulness of the reportbacks: Willie said they made him more aware of inter-student relations, the "race factor" and how he behaved in that context (2:I-24b); and Anwar said that the report-backs made him aware there was a lack of communication in the class (2:I-3b).

Students such as Jenny^{L1} and Sanni^{L2} developed greater understanding about race and the language issues by relating with commitment to the events which occurred in the class, the communication workshops and the interviews. They were thus affected by their experiences in the English class in 1988 globally, rather than by the questioning techniques alone. ³

A student like Sylvie^{L2} did show signs of having developed greater understanding from the research process, but had expectations of the project which were unrealistically high, and this contributed to a degree of cynicism on her part. ⁴

3. In Chapter Six Jenny's changed attitude and behaviour towards blacks was mentioned. Sanni displayed greater confidence and commitment to the class after working for the communication workshops, and in interviews she showed she was being forced to think more critically about the issue of official language and politics in South Africa.

4. Some of Sylvie's cynicism is evident in her comments in Chapter Six.

Many students in the class, for example Adiel^{L1}, Shafiek^{L1} and Rifai^{L1} appeared untouched by the research, and showed no signs of having developed greater self-awareness.

What became clear from researching a group where all students did not share the same aspirations, is that some students responded more urgently to the topic at hand and became more committed to it. Thus reciprocity depends to some extent on the participants in the research, as well as the quality of the research itself.

8.1.3 Effect on the Teacher

As a teacher I was also a participant in the research project. In terms of Lather's criterion of catalytic validity, it is therefore important that the research activity was beneficial to me as a teacher. The research was in fact beneficial, firstly, in that it provided direction and motivation for me: there was a masters dissertation to complete, and a set of colleagues and academics outside the school environment who were interested in discussing the kinds of problems and discoveries I was experiencing.⁵ The case study also provided for the development of professional expertise and teacher autonomy, which are benefits of teacher research noted by L. Stenhouse (1975:96) and D. Hopkins (1985:3). As a teacher/researcher I was constantly able to try out new ideas, watch students' responses and discuss this with them afterwards. For example, given the positive response to group-work early in the year, I used this technique more than I might otherwise have done. I was reading about SLA and language teaching methods while in the field, so I could evaluate theory and practice simultaneously. As documented above, the research

5. I belonged to a group of students working on masters and B.Ed. dissertations in the field of language, who would come together regularly. I attended part of a B.Ed. course on language and society.

and constant feedback helped me to uncover aspects of the classroom dynamics, of the L2 students' learning patterns, and of my own teaching style, which would be a useful process for any teacher. Sue Nicolson mentions these empowering elements for the teacher (me) and the students in her report. ⁶ It would be incorrect for me to say that the research had a "catalytic effect" on me, as I had already embarked on a process of discovery and experimentation, but it certainly deepened my understanding of how education and society are related in South Africa.

Stenhouse (1975:97) noted that the process model is gratifying, as well as demanding, as it can place demands on the teacher which are sometimes too high:

Any process model rests on teacher judgment rather than on teacher direction. It is thus far more demanding on teachers and thus far more difficult to implement in practice, but it offers a high degree of personal and professional development. In particular circumstances it may well prove too demanding. (Stenhouse, 1975:96,7)

The demands placed on me by the case study were certainly high owing to the level of experimentation and introspection. The case study also had a negative psychological effect: as I was constantly assessing my own work, there was a great deal of self-induced pressure on me to perform well as a teacher. The stakes felt very high, so that I was anxious not to allow what I regarded as extraneous features or elements, such as students' misbehaviour or my weak presentation of lessons, to interfere with the dynamics. I was also too worried, I believe, how students were coping and how they were experiencing the classroom dynamics. The demanding features did not outweigh the gratifying aspects of this case study.

6. See Appendix Five.

However, it would seem that this approach is more suitable for some tasks and personalities than others.

A limitation and a strength which existed in this project is that it was a training project for me as both teacher and researcher. This entailed that much of the reading and discovery of new research and teaching techniques occurred after the case study had begun, and that much necessary experience for a project like this was only gained during the course of the year. Thus, whilst the study could facilitate my professional development as a teacher and as a researcher, it suffered the weaknesses of being a training project. These weaknesses affected data gathering techniques more than my increasing understanding of SLA in the multilingual classroom. For example, had this project not been run as a "discovery" case study, a more experienced researcher would possibly have been better equipped with testing technique at the beginning of the year, and would have been able to measure the L2 students' initial English skills more rigorously. On the other hand, a more professional researcher would probably not have been prepared to engage themselves in the field, day in, day out, in the same way as I was prepared to do, as a teacher.

Following on from the above points, a negative feature of this research or of the educational system itself, is its limited applicability for the average teacher. Whilst the case study was an exciting learning experience, not all that was learnt could be carried over to other teaching situations: I was only a part-time teacher, and therefore was prepared to put an extraordinary amount of effort into making the case study a success, which a full-time teacher would not necessarily be prepared to do. Only one year later, outside the specialness of this case study, I noticed how it had become very tempting not to repeat successful but

demanding projects or techniques, because of the typical pressures faced in a teaching day.

8.1.4 The Researcher

Distance, even comprehensibility, can be a source of protection. The rationale, of course, for distancing ourselves from practice is that one needs to be able to see the forest, not only the trees. Getting too close to practice hampers perspective. There is, surely, a grain of truth here. But just as surely the test of theory is how well it enables us to deal with our practical tasks. (E. Eisner, 1988:19)

The most useful aspects of the teacher/researcher unity for me as the researcher, was being able to locate the research holistically within the system. It is useful for the researcher to be totally in touch with the needs of the students, and even of the practical issues facing the teacher. Furthermore, because the teacher is so locked into the system and intent on producing the best situation for his/her students, s/he would not want to select projects which would appear clever and gimmicky, even produce satisfactory, neat statistics or results. This applies necessary brakes on the research. This was why I was unwilling to focus on one aspect of the student's problems alone, such as writing compositions. Most teachers would want their students to improve all round, and through teaching one is aware that the L2 students' performance will not alter seriously from attention to one technique alone: writing depends on new vocabulary and idiomatic input, on reading and listening, and thus on an integrated approach to teaching students.

In addition, my daily contact with the L2 students allowed me to observe much of their behaviour first-hand, and to have easy access to ad-hoc questioning about incidents in the class, tests or assignments. Examples of these are the incidents after the June exam where I questioned Amelia in

detail about her comprehension answers, as mentioned in Chapter Two; or the incident with Sylvie in the September exam, where I was able to question her about her references to spiritual and mental pain as "pain in the heart" and "pain in the stomach", as discussed in Chapter Five.

As the teacher, I could assess the feedback provided by the students in their questionnaires and interviews, in the context of their general behaviour: when they would say how tolerant they were in their interviews, I could see in class that this was not necessarily so. Two students whose feedback I was able to cross-check in this way, were Bennie^{L1} and Rashied^{L1}.

Another advantage of the teacher-research aspect of this case study is that by being part of the system and remaining within it after the case study, I could reflect practically on the findings in other classes and situations, and thus I could check for the generalizability of the data and relevance of the theory. This is very important when the case study was so small, and the sample of L2 students especially limited. For example, the year after the case study, 1989, I taught a standard nine class of a similar size to the case study, with four L2 students. Here I was able to cross check ideas about class participation of the L2 students, and about their learning processes. On the issue of classroom participation, there was a similar reluctance to speak in broad forum discussions amongst L2 students, as in the case study, but less reticence in informal or group-work situations. Two of the L2 students were male in this 1989 class, and built social links with other students more rapidly than the L2 students in the case study, emphasizing the significance of gender as a variable in group dynamics where L2 students are involved.

The data in the case study supports D. Allwright's statement (1988:257) that it is useful for researchers to study learner behaviour and instruction simultaneously. Learner behaviour, as Allwright points out, is "a vital part of what constitutes instruction, of what determines the learning opportunities that learners get". Each L2 student made different use of the instruction due to their individual characteristics and their response to the classroom dynamics; therefore it was useful to research the instruction and the learner behaviour together. This point was illustrated by the differing student responses to teaching techniques and varying rates of L2 student achievement, discussed in Chapter Seven.

One problem with the teacher-research combination, is that as teacher, one is also performing for the class or servicing it, which creates an observational barrier, allowing one to see neither the "wood" nor the "trees" of the above Eisner quote. This became very clear to me when I watched the video of the class lesson in November: amidst my panic of getting the tasks done and the morning completed, I was unable to make any observation in the class that day, other than "they enjoyed it, everything appears to be going pretty well".⁷ However, the video revealed a host of interesting information about group dynamics, group-work and language learning.⁸

In Chapter Two the strengths of participant observation and the breaks on subjectivity were discussed in detail. Whilst these have remained valid for the case study, this research has highlighted other practical problems to do with teacher research and subjectivity. As a teacher I was viewing the classroom from my point of view, in terms of my own needs, expectations and anxieties. I did not always manage to

7. Point made in my field-notes.

8. See Appendix Four.

achieve the emotional distance and objectivity required of me as a researcher. The short spells of triangulation in this case study were insufficient to obviate this problem altogether. Sue Nicolson mentions in her report how her task as triangulator was inadequately spelt out and how she spent too little time with the case study to make precise observations about the development of the L2 students over the year.⁹ Owing to these problems, Sue was unable to provide sufficient cross-references to the problems associated with subjectivity in the case study. This inability of the three triangulators provide a solution to the overall problem of subjectivity in the case study in no way militates against the usefulness of their observations. All three provided me with valuable and stimulating insights, uncovered classroom phenomena I had not noticed and provided corroboration of some of my own observations. Their interest in the project was a form of psychological support which motivated me immensely in my work.

Furthermore, as teacher and authority figure, one will not receive absolutely objective information from the students, no matter how open and democratic one attempts to be. The students will edit their comments to some extent when speaking to their own teacher. When interviewed by Sue or Lufuno, students' comments were no different, possibly because they knew I would have access to these afterwards.

There is also the subjectivity of the teacher or researcher who is also a stakeholder in the exercise. K. Hartshorne (1986:132,3) argues that this stake in the future education system is a positive factor in motivating teachers to undertake research. However, the negative side of the teacher as researcher, is that the teacher is constantly wishing to find the positive results they believed would come about from the research project. This is a crucial

9. See Appendix Five.

area for this dissertation, because I originally set out to look for the benefits of my intervention in the learning process of the L2 students. As a teacher I can allow myself to believe in these benefits in a fairly subjective and impressionistic way, but as a researcher I cannot enjoy this luxury.

It must be added, that despite all the opportunities provided by the teacher/researcher unity for cross-checking evidence, this research was unable to uncover all the contradictions embedded in much of the student testimony. This was particularly apparent with questions investigating group dynamics, or questions investigating L2 students' perceptions of their linguistic development. The extent to which the research process disturbed the field, for example with regard to class dynamics, is another variable which could have led to unreliable testimony. The relative murkiness of some of the evidence seems to be a problem inherent in research relying on individuals' perceptions and understanding that are linked to powerful psychological processes, such as the desire to please, defensiveness, rationalization and auto-suggestion.

This highlights how difficult research into classroom processes is, as there are so many variables which come into play, be they psychological, sociological or moral/philosophical. This multiplicity and interconnectedness of variables surely affects the teacher/researcher's as well as the students' perceptions, and must surely colour the evidence in a way which is sometimes difficult to account for. In Chapter Six it was noted that I as the researcher might have relied too heavily, or unquestioningly on some students' evidence. This was especially so with testimony of extremely sensitive students, or statements which I did not penetrate sufficiently to establish whether they embodied false

consciousness or even prejudice. This does not negate the value of using participants' perceptions for research, as these play an important role in determining classroom processes and yield rich information. This point ties in with the following statement by Eisner:

Human beings are, after all, sentient beings whose lives are pervaded by complex and subtle forms of affect. To try to comprehend the ways in which people function and the meanings the events in their lives have for them and to neglect either seeing or portraying those events and meanings is to distort and limit what can be known about them. (Eisner, 1988:17)

By pointing to the unreliability of the testimony which individual perceptions sometimes yield, I am merely highlighting the difficulties and limitations associated with this form of research. Investigations into a student's linguistic or academic development in a second language rely on many variables, not all of which are apparent merely by assessing the written work of the student.

8.1.5 The Researcher as Data Gatherer

As was indicated in the introduction, two central aims of this dissertation were: to provide an illustration of the situation facing L2 students who go from DET schools to an English first language class; and to assess the effects of modified teaching techniques on the multilingual class, in particular on the L2 students. My location as a researcher within the educational system has been noted earlier in this chapter. In terms of purely describing the problems facing the L2 students at the college, gathering the data and interpreting it has been relatively straightforward. However, assessing the effects of the teaching methods has been more complicated. This is partly because, as mentioned in Chapter Four, there are so many variables determining the effectivity of teaching techniques. Furthermore, there were

some unavoidable problems presented by the research design itself, which had to do with my place within the system. As mentioned in the introduction, I had access to the L2 students for the period of one year only. It would have been more useful to assess the impact of the techniques over two years, and in closer proximity to the final matric English exam. As is illustrated in Table Five, only one of the L2 students passed this exam on the higher grade. Thus all that can be said about the intervention, is that after one year, it was not able to ensure the success of L2 students in their final matric exam one year later. This inconclusiveness affects the first, purely data gathering aim of this dissertation, as there is a logical connection between understanding a problematic situation, and developing the means to remedy it.

8.1.6 Conclusion

I would argue that despite the limitations described above, teacher research is a valuable activity: it facilitates the development of the participants and provides a useful vantage point for the researcher. The data presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven have, I believe, enriched the theory which exists currently about SLA, multilingual classroom dynamics and education in South Africa. It has done so via practical instances, which corroborate much of the theory, and which indicate some of the gaps existing at the theoretical level. Whilst participant observation is useful and important, it provides only one perspective of teaching and learning. The findings, which have been tenuously arrived at in this dissertation, based on ethnographic inquiry, need to be complemented by work done at the macro level, which involves broad trends, theoretical and sociological investigations into education in South Africa. Whilst research at the macro level does exist, not enough attention is being paid at this level to the issue of

language, class and education. There is also a need for *more* ethnographic work to occur at classroom level, as so little of this exists. Furthermore, it would be useful if findings reached at the micro level could be accompanied by quantitative or qualitative research conducted longitudinally, cross-sectionally and comparatively. It is only when findings and theory from the various research modes are correlated and compared, that we will arrive with any certainty at an understanding of language acquisition, education and class in South Africa.

8.2 SECTION TWO

FUTURE AREAS FOR INVESTIGATION

This case study demonstrates that there is indeed a need for much research into language and learning in the South African context. "Race" and "Class" are terms often referred to in writings about South African education. However, this case study, especially Chapter Six, illustrates the need to analyse the relationship between race, class and language, and the manner in which these factors play themselves out socially and academically in the school itself. The social dynamics in the multilingual classroom is one area where more research is useful. However, the investigation into the academic development of the L2 students in the multilingual class, as discussed in Chapters Five and Seven, throws up even more problems and unanswered questions. This latter issue is close to the core of People's Education and the notion of a future democratic and accessible education. The definition of "People's Education" implies that in a future South Africa a non-elitist system of education will ensure that teaching and examining procedures at all schools do not operate as a form of discrimination against speakers of English as a second language, as is the case in the 1980's. The practical problems and limitations described in this

dissertation indicate that detailed investigation into the issues raised here is required.

Attitudes of political activists and educationists involved in the education struggle at present also need to be informed of the above mentioned issues. For example, in 1989 a campaign originated in Johannesburg, called "All Schools for All People" (ASAP), which revolved largely around the admission of blacks to white government schools, especially those which were threatened with closure due to limited enrolment. I would argue that the idea behind such a campaign is appropriate to a struggle for a non-racial system of education. However, concerns have been raised by students that such a campaign might draw black pupils, who should choose to attend mixed schools, away from their communities.¹⁰ Other dynamics also need to be considered, such as the issues raised in this case study to do with classroom dynamics, or, more importantly, language and academic achievement.

It is vital that writers about language and education develop a cogent theory of SLA, which is applicable in the South African context. Furthermore, this theory needs to be applied via ethnographic research in the schools, communities and homes of South African children. Once we have a better understanding of what exists, it will be easier to know how and where to implement educational changes. As is indicated in Chapter Three, a detailed knowledge of SLA and society, as well as of students' present learning experience, will help educationists to develop appropriate teaching techniques.

Chapter Seven of this dissertation points to two important areas for research. The first is that of examination procedures. It is illustrated in this dissertation that the

10. These points were raised at a NECC meeting in Cape Town in January 1990.

success of a teaching methodology will vary significantly according to the stated aims of a syllabus, and that these aims determine the examining procedures which are implemented. Chapters Six and Seven demonstrate, for example, that in the case study various interventions encouraged co-operation and tolerance amongst students, values described as "progressive" in Chapter Four. Whilst these qualities are in accordance with those of People's Education, they were certainly not accounted for in the final exams, which did not test students' social awareness and skills. J. Millar's call, for "a flexible scheme for assessing a far broader spectrum of skills and knowledge than is currently thought worthy of being honoured by examination" (1983:164), deserves consideration in the local context.

As is indicated in Chapter Seven, the testing in the case study and beyond did not examine the development of the L2 students adequately, due to the present emphasis in secondary education on the product and surface correctness. The debate concerning examinations and certification needs to be taken forward urgently. This has already been set in motion, most notably by Soudien et al (1989). Their paper outlines some of the problems which will have to be addressed by future research into progressive education, namely: how the examination of peer learning and group-work occurs at a standardized, mass level (1989:17); and how the demands of "the community" and activists for democratic education relate to the examination requirements of the employers, on the one hand, and the university, on the other.

The second important area highlighted in Chapter Seven which requires further research is that of the curriculum: what content is suitable for the multilingual class, and what are the best teaching techniques to accompany this content?

This question is discussed in Chapter Four, and practical references to content and technique are made in Chapter Seven. However, it is certainly not resolved in this dissertation. Content and methodology are partly dependent on the aims and examination procedures adopted, as is indicated above. However, they are also dependent on theories of language learning. Thus investigations into the effectiveness of various techniques should occur simultaneously with research into language acquisition and discussions about blueprints for a future education system. This experimentation with methodology in the classroom will hopefully shed light on the theoretical positions articulated by writings on language and education, some of which are referred to in Chapters Three and Four.

8.3 SECTION THREE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This summary is presented in relation to the five questions posed in the introduction to this dissertation.

8.3.1 Question One

What is the previous academic language learning experience of the L2 students, and how does this affect their learning and development in the English class under study?

Chapter Five demonstrates that the previous academic training and English teaching of the L2 students in DET schools affected them adversely during the case study. Specific areas of learning which had a negative impact for the students when they joined the multilingual class were communicative proficiency in English, content covered previously and academic skills acquired. Thus SLA in the classroom is not as simple as it would seem on the basis of the Variable Competence Model, as discussed in Chapter

Three. SLA, in the situation as presented in the case study, is intricately interwoven with other forms of competence and of acquired skills related to literacy and academic development.

The case study was not designed specifically to investigate what positive skills or training the L2 students had achieved, but it is noted in Chapters Six and Seven that these did exist. The present examination procedure do not take these skills into account, nor reward them.

It is also demonstrated in Chapter Five that the L2 students who had previously attended DET schools were affected by this; however, the extent of this differed amongst individuals. The one L2 student who did not previously attend a DET school experienced similar problems owing to inadequate communicative proficiency, but not as many owing to academic skills acquired. Thus the teaching of English at DET schools does not prepare students adequately for a smooth transition to learning in English and through the medium of English in an English L1 environment in Standard Nine. In Chapter One of this dissertation the point is made that this transition is equally difficult for ex-DET schools at tertiary institutions.

8.3.2 Question Two

How do the L1 and L2 students perceive studying in a multilingual class; and how much is participation affected by linguistic differences?

Data in Chapter Six indicates that from a social point of view, there was consensus amongst the students that studying together in a multilingual class was positive. However, some difficulties did emerge during the year, due either to individuals' idiosyncracies which were interpreted as racist, some prejudice and intolerance and certain students'

hypersensitivity. Language differences contributed to a lack of communication amongst students earlier in the year, and to unequal participation in the class throughout the year. The interventions to increase participation were partially successful.

Furthermore, from an academic point of view most L1 students felt that the multilingual composition of the class had no impact. L2 students found that they benefitted from the presence of strong L1 students, although they felt much pressure due to the standard of the work.

The data indicates that as regards multilingual schooling, some attention needs to be paid to the affective atmosphere, as a positive atmosphere will enhance the academic development of L1 and L2 students, as well as the SLA of the L2 students. On the whole, and with some reservations, a positive affective atmosphere is shown by the case study to increase L1 and L2 students' understanding of each other, and thus their commitment to a non-racial society.

The case study illustrates that although classroom dynamics are important, the issue of academic development and language is more complex to unravel and resolve, and thus contains greater priority for research into education for the future.

8.3.3 Question Three

Do the interventions in the form of modified teaching techniques have a positive effect on the language and academic development of the L2 students, without adversely affecting the L2 students?

In Chapter Seven data shows that the modifications did have positive effects on the perceived academic development of L1 and L2 students and on the SLA of the L2 students. These

benefits were articulated by the students in questionnaires and interviews, but they were not measurable from test results. Data in Chapter Seven illustrates these techniques are not the only or prime factors influencing the L2 students' development; individual learner factors, societal factors and previous learning experience also affect the development of the L2 student. This chapter also demonstrates that the issue of teaching techniques is directly related to examination procedures, students' own potential and limitations, as well as the time factor. Furthermore, it illustrates that more research in this area is necessary and suggests that research into learning and teaching should be conducted concurrently.

8.3.4 Question Four

How much do the L2 students develop linguistically and academically in the English class throughout the year?

From Chapter Seven it is evident that L2 students progressed, but mostly in terms of communicative skills with other students. They did develop academically over the period of one year, but not a great deal, according to the exam results.

The dissertation also presentsd some of the factors, individual, social or educational, which limit SLA and the academic development of L2 students, at an English L1 institution such as the college. It emphasizes, in addition, that L2 students' development is at present being assessed in relation to an inadequate marking system.

The implication of the data is that the development of communicative proficiency occurs more quickly than the development of academic proficiency in an L2. Furthermore, much research and intervention, as well as more limited

expectations, are required before L2 students can successfully be accommodated in English L1 institutions.

8.3.5 Question Five

How useful was this research design, and is it worth replicating in the future?

The research process, assessed in Chapter Eight, had positive effects on many, but by no means all of the participants in the case study. It did not affect any of the participants adversely. It created stress for the teacher, but not overwhelmingly so. The teacher research design has allowed interesting findings to emerge about SLA and multilingual classroom dynamics.

It is hoped that this dissertation illustrates the pressing need for more work in this area, and illustrates how research into these topics is appropriate for the development of a progressive approach to education in South Africa.

APPENDICES

Examples of the main research procedures utilized in the case study.

CONTENTS

1. Dates of all questionnaires and one sample questionnaire.
2. Dates of interviews with all students and groups and an extract of a sample interview.
3. Two examples of L2 students' written work.
4. Writing about/transcriptions of three class events occurring during the year.
5. Extracts from the report of one triangulator, Sue Nicolson, February 1989.
6. Full table of responses to essay writing throughout the year.
7. My report-back of research in progress to the students, August 1988.

APPENDIX 1

The following comprises a list of all questionnaires utilized in the case study. It is a listing, rather than the actual data collected from the questionnaires.

- Q-1: Questionnaire conducted with all students in the
case study in February 1988.
- Q-2: " May 1988.
- Q-3: " July 1988.
- Q-4: " November 1988.

Here is one example of a questionnaire, the first one given to the students.

LEARNING QUESTIONNAIRE

SOUTHERN SUBURES COLLEGE

FEBRUARY 1988

INTRODUCTION

I have explained that I am doing research into mixed classroom teaching for a masters degree. The purpose of my research is to be able to describe a situation to other people, which might mirror what our classrooms would look like in a future of mixed schooling. It is also designed to show what problems might exist in such a classroom, and to look at some possible solutions.

You are asked to complete this questionnaire so that I may know something about the background and attitudes of my students in this target class. This information should assist me in my teaching of you this year and in my teaching of other students later. If, together, we make some progress towards understanding problems in the English lesson and experience some experiments which would help other teachers and students in the future, then together we will have achieved something very useful.

The information which you provide will be absolutely confidential(not passed on with your name to anyone). It will also have no effects whatsoever on the way I treat you, or the marks you receive in your exams.

PLEASE WRITE YOUR ANSWERS ON THIS SHEET
SECTION ONE: PERSONAL DETAILS

1. What is your name? _____
2. How old are you? _____
3. What is the name of your last school? _____
4. What was your final result for English? _____

5. How did you do in your other subjects? _____

6. What language do you speak at home? _____
7. Why have you chosen to come to Southern Suburbs College? _____

8. So far, what are your thoughts about being at a mixed school? _____

9. What do your parents do? _____
10. If you have any older brothers and sisters, what do they do? _____

11. Do you have to do duties at home, or do you have to work to earn money? _____

12. What would you like to do when you leave school? _____

13. Do your parents encourage you to do your schoolwork? If so, how? _____

14. Do your parents discuss current issues with you? Give examples. _____

15. Is there anything else about your background which you think might be useful to mention? _____



SECTION TWO: ATTITUDE TOWARDS ENGLISH

1. Have you enjoyed English as a subject since you've been in high school? _____

2. How much time do you spend reading English a) newspapers b) magazines c) books
in an average week? _____
3. How much time do you spend watching English television each week? _____

4. How confident do you feel about a) writing in English? _____
b) talking in class discussions? _____
c) presenting an oral in class? _____
d) talking in a crowd of friends? _____
5. How much do you enjoy a) writing in English? _____
b) talking in or out of class in English? _____
c) reading in English? _____

6. So far this year, have you experienced any problems in the English class?
You may want to refer to hearing the teacher, hearing the other pupils, speaking
in class, writing or reading, or following instructions. _____
7. So far this year, have you experienced problems with English as a medium of
instruction in your other lessons? You may want to refer to the textbook used,
the new words and ideas. _____
8. Do you think English is an important subject to study? If so, why? _____

9. Are you satisfied with the way you a) speak English? _____

b) write English? _____

c) read English? _____

If you have written 'no' for any of the above, please explain.

10. Do you feel you need extra help with your English? _____

11. Do you feel it is important to be able to speak standard English correctly?

If you do, why? _____



SECTION THREE: LEARNER PROFILE

1. Would you say that you are struggling or 'managing fine' with your other subjects?

2. So far, do you feel interested in the students in your class? _____

3. Are you prepared to risk appearing foolish in order to get your point across in or out of class? _____

4. Do you enjoy communicating with others (sharing ideas, feelings, etc)? _____

5. If you find your homework difficult, do you leave it or do you persist? _____

6. If you read a passage and don't understand what seems like an important word, do you consult a friend or teacher/ use a dictionary/guess the meaning/lose hope about understanding the passage? _____

7. Do you particularly enjoy using any new words you've learnt in speech or in writing? _____

8. Are you aware of the mistakes you make when you speak and try to correct yourself? _____

9. If an answer of yours in class is shown to be wrong, do you wholeheartedly take on the new answer, reject it out of hand, or try and make sense of it before you absorb it? _____

10. Does anyone (parents, brothers and sisters) help you with your homework? If yes, do they do it for you, or explain to you how to do it? _____



THANK YOUR FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

APPENDIX 2

The following comprises a list of dates of all interviews conducted by me with the students in the case study.

I-1a:	Interview with Adiel in April	1988.
I-1b:	" Adiel "	September "
I-2a:	" Amelia "	March "
I-2b:	" Amelia "	July "
I-2c:	" Amelia "	November "
I-3a:	" Anwar "	April "
I-3b:	" Anwar "	October "
I-4a:	" Bennie "	May "
I-4b:	" Bennie "	September "
I-5a:	" Bhavna "	May "
I-5b:	" Bhavna "	August "
I-6a:	" Brandon "	May "
I-6b:	" Brandon "	August "
I-7a:	" Bruce "	August "
I-8a:	" Candy "	May "
I-8b:	" Candy "	October "
I-9a:	" Clive "	February "
I-9b:	" Clive "	August "
I-10a:	" Colleen "	April "
I-10b:	" Colleen "	October "
I-11a:	" Fern "	May "
I-11b:	" Fern "	August "
I-12a:	" Gudrun "	March "
I-12b:	" Gudrun "	October "
I-12c:	" Gudrun "	March 1989.
I-13a:	" Haniefafa "	March 1988.
I-13b:	" Haniefafa "	October "
I-14a:	" Janice "	April "
I-14b:	" Janice "	October "
I-15a:	" Jenny "	April "
I-15b:	" Jenny "	August "
I-16a:	" Nazeer "	February "
I-16b:	" Nazeer "	October "
I-17a:	" Nomi "	April "
I-17b:	" Nomi "	September "
I-18a:	" Nosipho "	February "
I-18b:	" Nosipho "	July "
I-18c:	" Nosipho "	November "
I-19a:	" Rashied "	February "
I-19b:	" Rashied "	October "
I-20a:	" Sanni "	March "
I-20b:	" Sanni "	August "
I-20c:	" Sanni "	November "
I-21a:	" Shafiek "	May "
I-21b:	" Shafiek "	September "
I-22a:	" Sindiswa "	March "
I-22b:	" Sindiswa "	July "
I-22c:	" Sindiswa "	November "
I-23a:	" Sylvie "	March "

I-23b	"	Sylvie	"	July	"
I-23c	"	Sylvie	"	November	"
I-23d:	"	Sylvie	"	April	1989.
I-24a:	"	Willie	"	April	1988.
I-24b:	"	Willie	"	September	"
I-25a:	"	Yasmin	"	February	"
I-25b:	"	Yamin	"	August	"

The following is a list of the dates of all group interviews conducted by me or the triangulators.

I-26: conducted by Lufuno, with Sylvie, Sanni, Nosipho, Amelia and Sindiswa in July 1988.
 I-27: conducted by Lufuno with full extra lessons class in August 1988.
 I-28: conducted by me with L2 students after communication workshop, August 1988.
 I-29: conducted by Sue with Nosipho, Sylvie and Sanni, September 1988.
 I-30: conducted by me with Sindiswa, Sanni, and Nosipho, March 1989.

Here is an extract from a transcript of one interview with an L1 student, Willie, in September 1988:

...Teacher: So even though you're having problems, you still prefer having group-work, to not having group-work?

Willie: Ja, despite the problems.

Teacher: Ok, you also said you found it more relaxing, would that be correct?

Willie: Ja, relaxed, 'cos everybody chips in to the conversation, that's what I like, but if everybody doesn't, sometimes doesn't, that makes it frustrating, but it's still better than having your own opinion.

Teacher: Then you also said you prefer being in a group where everyone talks, to where most of the people are quiet. Does that make you feel a bit frustrated?

Willie: Ja, because you have to like cheer them up the whole time and say, "What do you think, what do you think?" As I said to you, Sanni, I had to ask her every single time what she thinks because she just accepted what everybody else said.

Teacher: And that frustrated you?

Willie: Ja, that frustrated me.

Teacher: Ok, now, I said to you that everybody I've spoken to said their second group is better than their first one. I would draw the conclusion that people have all improved as group members. What do you think of that?

Willie: Because quite a time has gone past now that we've been doing group-work and now all of us have been put in new groups, so everybody says "right, now I'm going to make something out of this" - that's what I think.

Teacher: And then I wanted to ask you, if you had to compare that way of learning, if you compared it to say learning from the

board, which do you think is better, or do you think they're each better in different situations, or what?

Willie: Learning from the board is the same as you explaining things, hey?

Teacher: Mmmm.

Willie: I think the board doesn't have that much effect, except for spelling English spoken. The written part, that's spelling. So, the group-work is important there, but I prefer you explaining, say after group-work, then you get all the facts straight.

Teacher: Ok, so are you saying that you like a bit of both?

Willie: Ja, there must be a balance between the two, or after a group-work session you must come in and talk to each group, or talk to the whole class....

APPENDIX 3

Two examples of L2 students' written work. The first passage provides a first-hand account of the experiences and development of an L2 student at the college. It is an example of written work which serves as a source of data for the case study.

"What I have experienced at the college this year" by Sanni, second draft written in November in the extra lessons class.

During my first term at the college I experienced a lot of problems. My main problem was not being able to grasp and understand what the teachers were saying immediately because of language problems.

At my previous school the media of instructions was English but teachers there always tried to make us understand better by translating what they said in Xhosa but at the college it was totally different the teacher just teaches in English. This created problems for me, because I am used in my previous school principle of work being translated and this made it difficult for me to cope with the work.

I also experienced problems in literature and poetry. At my previous school we just did a little bit of poetry we didnt do stuff like analysing the poem, talk about figures of speech and all that stuff. I became so frustrated when we started doing poetry here at the college because it was really different from the system we used last year from my previous school. The other thing which frustrated me was literature at my previous school we only read books with simple stories and we were not bothered about being asked deep questions and write essays from those stories, but when I started doing literature at the college I had to start doing all those things.

My other main problem at the college was communicating in English with other students in class or during break because where I come from we usually communicated in Xhosa with each other. It really took me time to be able to speak freely to the others in English but now things have improved because I can at least ask them some questions in the work I dont understand.

Things have changed this term. I am now able to understand what the teacher is saying when she is teaching and I also try to be able to analyse poems and figures of speech in try to show their effect. I am also trying to be able to write literature essays although this is still a problem.

The second passage is an illustration of the kinds of problems which occur in the writing of L2 students. The letter shows much care about surface errors, but it displays the negative effects of borrowing too extensively from other sources, as insufficient attention has been paid to the message or purpose of the written passage. It fails to link the potential danger of nuclear tests in the U.S. with people living in South Africa. Sylvie said she spent three hours on this writing assignment.

Letter to the Editor by Sylvie, written for the group newspaper in November 1989.

The Editor
The Argus
Newspaper House
St Georges Street
Cape Town
8001

Dear Sir

Complaint about Government Policy

Your newspaper reports that St.Louis Citizens Committee for Nuclear Information says that three thousand children in Utah and Nevada have received excessive radiation doses and that about a dozen will have thyroid cancer.

The federal government explodes the bombs. The federal government establishes radiation controls. But the people of the United States, who have paid taxes for the bombs and controls, do not protest. It is a matter of common sense: You can't explode nuclear bombs without people feeling some effects at least a few hundred miles away. And what about us who live in other parts of the country - Do we protest? No. What's the use? Parental common sense has little weight in the face of scientists, and the Atomic Energy Commission has reassured us that all is well.

Now nuclear tests in the air are banned, but for many children, it is too late. The tragedy is that people are helpless before their governments, and when they are not helpless, they are defrauded.

Yours Faithfully
S. Mfolosi

Sylvie Mfolosi (Miss)
Zone 3 no 4
Langa
7455
31 October 1988

APPENDIX 4

The following are examples of events occurring during the lessons of the case study, which have been transcribed or written down, and which have provided useful data for the case study.

The first passage is a drama in March expressing the communication problems of the L2 students. It was enacted by Sylvie, Sanni and Sindiswa, and transcribed afterwards by Sylvie.

Frustration in the English Class

We are going to talk about the frustration which is experienced by those student who are not English speaking people. They are being frustrated by the students who keep on laughing at them when they make mistakes in class. The other thing which frustrates them is when they have to work in groups and no one want to work with them. The question is how can they improve their English when they don't want to communicate with them, because by working in groups they are getting more ideas and more vocabulary.

We are going to dramatise how these things happen. Sanni is going to act as a teacher and afterwards as a student. Sindiswa and Sylvie are going to act as students.

Sanni: Sylvie, can you please tell me the difference between a simile and a metaphor.

Sylvie: I don't understand your question Sanni, can you please repeat it?

Sanni: What don't you understand? Is it the whole question or you don't know the meaning of a simile and a metaphor.

Sylvie: I don't understand the whole question.

Sanni: Allright Sylvie, I now understand your problem. Can I please see you during prep?

Sylvie: Yes

Sindiswa: (gossiping to Sanni) - Listen, listen Sanni she doesn't know the difference between a simile and a metaphor. (After gossiping they laugh)

Sindiswa: Look at her, she is standing alone. Look at her stupid face.

Sanni: Lets go and talk with her, she is looking very worried.

Sanni: What's bordering you Sylvie?

Sylvie: (crying) I'm so frustrated at this school. I don't know what is wrong about me because when I talk, students laugh at me and this makes me shy. This situation is frustrating me and it will not make my work to improve. I'm here to communicate with the other students but they don't want to talk to me instead they laugh at me when I have made a mistake, but time will come and I will soon understand my work.

The following is a passage written by Sylvie^{L2}, after I asked her what was wrong with the group which she was in, with Sindiswa^{L2}, Adiel^{L1}, Brandon^{L1} and Yasmin^{L1} in June, and in which she and Sindiswa looked unhappy and refused to speak. The passage illustrates the problems occurring in an unsuccessful group, of insensitivity, oversensitivity, language causing inhibition, and clumsy attempts by L1 students to right the situation.

9/6/88 (Unpleasant Lesson) Comment on Brandon's attitude.

Brandon doesn't care about the black students, he is undermining them. We saw that yesterday when we were discussing about the theme of the school. He doesn't give us a chance to speak because he thinks that there is nothing better we can say. He only write what he or Yasmin thinks is write for them and they don't want us to say any comments. So in this way he makes us feel uncomfortable when it is coming to group work, and we hate that comment which they always say i.e. "You two must say something". They like to rule us. This situation makes us feel very nervous even if we are in the class because we are afraid of them laughing at us when we are speaking of making a mistake. He is always boasting about his language and saying something like, "I'm a geneous" and this shows that he is a "high class" person.

The following is an extract from the transcript of the video of the class working in groups, laying out their group "newspapers" in November. This extract focusses on one of the five groups, which was supposed to be co-ordinated by Sanni. It provides valuable information about language use in the groups, and illustrates an awareness and tolerance amongst the students of each other as well as of language differences. It shows students getting on well together, humour as a positive influence and one student directing the proceedings.

Language Use during Group-work

Fern is dominating. Nosipho is involved. Nazeer is showing off. Adiel is quiet. Fern and Sanni silence Nazeer, who has just blocked off the camera. They are discussing the last page, which contains Nosipho's letter.

Fern: No, that must come last, but I think, I wish we had photo's.

Nazeer: I've got a good plan. This plan can't fail. Can I share it with you?

Fern: What?

Nazeer: Come we put mine in front.

Fern: And then?

Nazeer: Then it will be a good plan.

Nosipho laughs.

Sanni: Must this be finished today or Monday?

Fern: No, by Monday. We just have to have the layout by today.

Sanni: So?

Fern: I just wanna see this (working with some sheets).

(Nazeer blocks off camera with a sheet of paper.)

Nazeer: It wasn't me, it wasn't me.

Adiel: But the camera saw you, Nazeer.

Nazeer: But there's no evidence, really.

Sanni: (referring to Nosipho's letter) She must bring pictures.

(at same time) Nosipho: I'm going to bring pictures.

Fern: Are you going to bring pictures?

Nazeer: Pictures, picturesque. (Word appeared in precis in test on previous day)

Nosipho: (smiles) Not picturesque, pictures.

Fern: You see this is a letter, not an article.

Nazeer: Definite article.

Fern: In the Argus you don't see pictures with a letter, see.

Sanni: I mean the, the picture is going to go on the same page as the letter - it doesn't go, huh?

Fern: You see, this is a letter, that's the problem, and you don't usually see the letter with a picture, you see.

Sanni: A picture, ja.

Nosipho: Ok, that's fine (smiles shyly).

Fern: Nosipho, you know, this is the, we're not being difficult or something, but that is the way a newspaper works, but have you got your heart set on having a picture?

Nosipho: No, it's ok.

Later:

Sanni: (She has finished cutting out students from a combined class photo) Is this ok?

Sanni had addressed the question mostly to Nosipho, who looks at Fern instead of answering herself.

Fern: Ya.

Nosipho gives paper to Sanni.

Sanni: (Threatening) If I make a mess... Nazeer, now do this properly.

Nazeer: (While pasting) I'm just a no-good.

Fern: You know, it's ok if we say so, but if you say so you must really know.

Nazeer: Sawabona.

Fern: Siyabona, man.

Nazeer: Sayubona, kunjani.

Nosipho: (Laughs) Ndiphilile, kunjani wena?

Nazeer: Salaam aleikum.

Nosipho, Sanni laugh.

Fern (to Nazeer) You really are pichati.

Sanni: Fern, what does that mean, when you say someone is "pichati"?

Fern explains it's a word she made up to call someone stupid. I approach the group. Only Fern and Adiel address me, give me things to photocopy. I say colour can be a problem on the photocopier. I leave. Fern wonders if coloured stripes will come out.

Nazeer: It won't, it'll only come out black and blacker, black, blacker blackest.

APPENDIX 5

The following are extracts from a report by one of the triangulators, Sue Nicolson, who observed six lessons in August and September, and interviewed several of the L2 students.

Extracts from a report by Sue Nicolson in February 1989.

On the student lessons by Sylvie, Sindismwa et al:

...The scene was enacted after a brief introduction, read by one of the students, of the role and function of riddles in African culture. All the people in the group except for one were African. I found the whole presentation very engaging, creatively done, interesting, informative, and real.... They felt free, open and expressive. They were presenting something about which they were more knowledgeable than the other students. This gave them the confidence to express themselves in a way that they didn't otherwise seem to....

On teaching grammar in the transmission mode:

...(Brenda) then went on to give her "chalk and talk" lesson, the topic of which was style in the English language, and primarily styles to be avoided - a list of about 15 points. The lessons comprised Brenda writing the "rules" on the board for the students to copy.

One of the observations that I made during this lesson was that during the entire time, not one Xhosa-speaking student made any contribution or asked any questions. It was therefore very difficult to make any assessment of how much of the lesson they were understanding... The structure of the lesson did not lend itself to facilitating the participation of those students whose mother tongue is not English.

Brenda believes that it is possible to teach first language English successfully to such a group, but that there is a point beyond which it becomes very difficult. I would agree with her, but I think that in our conversation yesterday, we came to a point of acknowledging that perhaps our cut-off points are different; that assumptions about the cut-off point are made based on a particular teaching style; and if the teaching style is transformed or analysed, perhaps the cut-off point/threshold could be changed too. One of the thoughts that came to me while I was sitting in on the lessons was that capturing subtlety and nuance in your not-mother-tongue language IS difficult, but that the challenge of the teacher is to provide as much experience of the language as possible. Being able to experience a language correlates with being able to think in that language. And so perhaps the task is to find ways of providing that experience in as many ways as possible.

If grammar is seen as the underlying structure and form of a language, which is in itself living, then the grammar, to make sense to the

learner (especially the learner who is learning the grammar of a second or foreign language), must derive the laws from the living experience. Looking at this last lesson, one of the possibilities that occurred to me of providing that space was to role play different language styles for the students, who could then in groups have discussed what they saw. From this they could begin themselves to extrapolate some definitions about style, out of which could grow organically the "what to avoids"... With such a lesson structure ... we would have had more of a sense of what people were observing and understanding.

Assessing L2 students' writing:

...Nosipho's writing did not appear to develop much during the course of the year. Mid-year she made some attempts at imaginative writing, but on the whole her writing is pedestrian, with still some fairly basic grammatical errors.

Sylvie writes well, sensitively and imaginatively. There is evidence of tremendous feeling in her writing. There were moments of clear breakthrough in her writing but I did not find clear evidence of an incremental improvement.

Sanni expresses herself consistently and clearly, yet again here, no clear signs of improvement during the course of the year. Her expression lacks the mobility necessary for greater creativity...

On the research process:

...It is quite clear that the nature of Brenda's research and her methods of gathering data are creating a situation whereby her relationship with her students is tremendously enhanced through greater and more personal and intimate contact. At the same time, she is becoming more and more conscious of her students' needs by asking and listening. In responding to these needs as she does, she is facilitating a process of empowering her students by fulfilling needs to the extent that she can, and in the areas that she is able to. These are not merely academic needs, but also needs of a more personal nature. I think it would be true to say that she too is becoming empowered through the direct feedback that her students give to her in her conversations and interviews with them.

...At the same time, my sense was that in that grey area where ethnography and action research overlap, more meaning might have been made for and in the research had Brenda defined more clearly what the action-research aspect was, or otherwise developed a more comprehensive agenda for the observer. In this way she might have more fruitfully been able to reflect on her own teaching practice which would have woven in to her dissertation topic in an extremely rich way.In my role as observer, if the focus is on the students primarily, then I would see my role as being most inadequate as it does not span the year in any way. As a result, I have nothing to measure my observations against, no comparisons to make in order to measure progress/development of the students on any level...

APPENDIX 6

The table below is the full version of Table Two. It contains the titles, manner in which writing assignments were carried out, % of results received, and comments made in my field-notes for all class and homework writing assignments for L2 students in the case study year.

1. 21 January: Freewriting and Poetry done in class (marked with comments, not points)		
Amelia:	clear	
Gudrun:	made herself clear, though no poem; tenses mixed up	
Nosipho:	not too clear; though message intelligible	
Sanni:	writing clear, though many grammar errors	
Sindiswa:	clearer than Nosipho; verbs and tenses weak; many errors	
Sylvie:	grammar errors, but interesting and complex subject matter	
2. 4 February: Seven Day Diary, done at home.		
Amelia:	45%	weak expression and many grammar errors, but makes herself clear
Gudrun:	35%	very weak expression; Afrikaans mixed in
Nosipho:	40%	observations concrete, but interesting; no emotions recorded; grammar errors, but clear
Sanni:	45%	nice vocab; clear to follow, though spelling and grammar errors
Sindiswa:	40%	expression weak; limited subject matter
Sylvie:	60%	expression clear, but clumsy and with errors; understood point of diary well, intensity of feelings comes through; many inappropriate words; ambitious
3. 17 March: An assignment consisting of freewriting, creative writing prose, and poem (the poem was given a mark)		
Amelia:	50%	message evident, but writing clumsy and stilted
Gudrun:	-	
Nosipho:	45%	expression of poem clear, but expression very stilted; earlier concrete descriptions very clear
Sanni:	55%	grammar of freewriting good; poem is clear, but not imaginative
Sindiswa:	55%	writing is capable and shows potential
Sylvie:	65%	her description of a tree used biological information which made it clear and detailed, with some, but not that many grammar errors, instead of imaginative; poem had strong use of structure and stylistic devices; conveys intense anger

4. 8 May: Essays on Prejudice - discursive or anecdotal
(prewriting input provided in class, rough drafts marked in pairs,
difficult conceptually)

Amelia:	40%	short; jumbled; many errors; weak points made; rough draft very short
Gudrun:	41%	wrote on topic of "memoirs", therefore off the topic; expression and paragraphing much improved
Nosipho:	43%	has taken Amelia's corrections seriously; taken care over her writing; many grammar errors; writing coherent, though no conclusion; some good vocab or idiom; strong empathy evoked
Sanni:	47%	off topic (discrimination); very coherent; clear conclusion; good introduction and conclusion; many errors eg. "predijuse"
Sindiswa:	43%	also on discrimination; much borrowed information; many errors
Sylvie:	50%	first paragraph appears borrowed; usual grammar errors; sophisticated usage; strong style; unusual expression, e.g. "thumbs up for..."

5. 27 May: Essays on education - discursive or anecdotal (some prewriting in class, rough drafts marked in pairs, if they did the anecdotal essay previous time, were required to do discursive one here, and vice versa)

Amelia:	46%	taken note of Nosipho's criticisms; morphological and syntactic errors; not too coherent; lacks adequate conclusion
Gudrun:	50%	Farren corrected and rewrote practically every sentence in terms of synthesis, but did not change the content
Nosipho:	43%	"charity mark"; not clear enough; not enough info; marker's correction not always useful (did discursive one)
Sanni:	63%	good introduction; mature thoughts; good paragraph construction; many L2 type errors
Sindiswa:	60%	got help; made relevant points; many errors
Sylvie:	80%	liberal use of other sources; points coherent; three and a half pages; expression very sophisticated

6. 28 July: Essay on Dylan Thomas' "A Visit to Grandpa", - is Dai Thomas a prophet? (Difficult question. They only answered a worksheet on the story in groups, in preparation. I gave the class notes on how to go about writing the essay and helped the L2 students in the extra lessons)

Amelia:	60%	included main points; drew it together well in conclusion; many grammar errors
Gudrun:	40%	"charity mark"; simply copied relevant notes from the back of the book
Nosipho:	40%	mark too high; not discursive enough; story retelling
Sanni:	73%	(came to me to check draft - I provided some expression and linking sentences); good conclusion; few errors; good content
Sindiswa:	47%	some main points; some incoherence
Sylvie:	67%	some very good points and good phrases; some poor expression and grammar errors

7. 8 August: Paired sets of formal letters of complaint and response (These were written as sets, drafts marked by partners, then marked as sets by teacher)

Amelia:	-	
Gudrun:	63%	some good vocabulary; some logical inconsistencies; her mark brought up by Fern's
Nosipho:	70%	mark influenced by Sylvie's work; simple style; saying little; expression not interesting; grammar good - only two tense errors
Sanni:	63%	style appropriate and clear, but with number of errors
Sindiswa:	63%	language formal, but clumsy and with errors; format wrong; her mark influenced by Sanni's
Sylvie:	70%	style good; few errors; very coherent; two format errors

8. 31 August: Dialogues illustrating appropriate and inappropriate language (Written individually, though L2 students practised such dialogues before in extra lessons)

Amelia:	60%	doctor's jargon very good; many grammar errors
Gudrun:	-	
Nosipho:	47%	"charity mark"; no clash of styles; too short
Sanni:	53%	understood principle very well, but short (mark more accurate than Nosipho's)
Sindiswa:	47%	contains very good instance of circumlocution; too short
Sylvie:	57%	not very filled out; has not got either style perfect, but understood point

9. 24 October: Discursive essays on Macbeth (discussed essays beforehand in groups)

Amelia:	40%	used figures of speech in retelling plot, although was supposed to discuss the figurative language therefore off the topic; expression very good
Gudrun:	50%	has many points; clearly borrowed much; sort-of coherent
Nosipho:	40%	understood the content, but not well structured or expressed
Sanni:	64%	original and analytic; many careless errors
Sindiswa:	56%	took words from notes and class, but understood what she was writing; mainly tense and grammar errors
Sylvie:	70%	very long; relied on other sources, but put it together extremely well

10. 1 November: Assorted pieces of writing for group newspapers (rough drafts marked by groups)

Amelia:	60%	good content and well argued letter, although many expression and language errors; some good vocab
Gudrun:	55%	coherent and amusing letter; many basic errors
Nosipho:	60%	topic badly introduced; some errors; strong expression
Sanni:	75%	expression clear; few errors, and interview contained penetrating questions.
Sindiswa:	70%	careless errors; intelligent and clear questions (benefitted by interviewing interesting person)
Sylvie:	60%	expression very good; no major errors; however, contains serious logical inconsistency

APPENDIX 7

*My report-back of the research in progress to the students
in August 1988.*

AUGUST 1988

REPORT TO STANDARD NINE CLASS UNDER STUDY OF RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

PROVISIONAL TITLE OF MASTERS DISSERTATION: A Case Study of Students from Mixed Educational and Linguistic Backgrounds Learning English as a First Language in a Non-racial School.

ON THE PRACTICALITY OF STUDENTS OF DIFFERENT BACKGROUNDS (SEE TITLE) BEING IN SAME ENGLISH CLASS:

On the whole this is definitely possible. However, some students who are studying in their second language need more than one year to adapt, whereas others adapt quickly. I am not sure to what extent those who adapt well do so because of efforts on my part, or because of the efforts on their part. Certainly hard work, reading a lot and practising English wherever possible seem to help significantly. Unfortunately, because of the divisions of the apartheid society, students don't always get enough opportunity to practise English outside school.

THE USEFULNESS OF THE MIXED CLASS

Most students have indicated that they prefer the mixed class, although their reasons for this and what they hope to get out of this differs. Some enjoy it from a social point of view, some from an academic point of view, others because of the status, and some don't mind where they are.

From an academic point of view the mixed class seems to work well in that people who speak English as a second language benefit from hearing it spoken by those for whom it is a first language, and also by the comments made by those who do well at English. Changes in the teaching method to help the second language speakers seem to have benefitted the weaker English speakers. Those who do well at English don't seem to have become bored by these changes. I would guess that at points the lessons have been too difficult for the second language speakers, especially in the first term. (Wendy certainly seemed to feel this).

From a social point of view I don't think students have learnt all that much about each other and their different backgrounds. One time when it did happen was the session in pairs, "How does it feel". This is disappointing, as better understanding would improve classroom communication and broaden students' general outlook on life.

SOME PROBLEMS

1. Some students have found that their previous schools have not prepared them sufficiently for Southern Suburbs College.
2. English speaking students have not always been helpful to those who are having difficulties. This varies, as some students have been willing to help. Some students have also been too shy to ask for help. I don't know whether this has improved since the beginning of the year.
3. Sometimes language problems have led to misunderstanding between pupils, for example in groupwork or at break. Over time many of these misunderstandings are cleared up.
4. Some people have been unaware or insensitive, and have behaved in a way which is harmful to interstudent relations. At points some students have also been oversensitive. I think for some pupils overcoming these problems has been a growing experience, and has contributed to their understanding of human nature.

TEACHING METHODS

1. After class lessons seem to have been helpful.
2. Groupwork seems to be useful in that it gets people to talk and share ideas. Whilst many students have expressed the usefulness of groupwork, others are still not bothering to contribute in their groups, or prefer to work on their own.
3. Especially with difficult work, my teaching from the front and using the board seems useful. However, in discussion, it is mostly the same people who speak up.

There needs to be a balance between blackboard teaching and students learning from joint activities.

4. Student lessons seem to have been helpful for students to gain confidence and to learn to put ideas across. Students have also learnt about each other's interests. However, there is too much competition around these lessons.
5. Marking other students' writing generally seems to have been enjoyed, and many students seem to have learnt from this.
6. The communication workshops have been useful for those who have come in terms of confidence building, communication and fun, although only for those who have come.

TEACHER-RESEARCH

The class as a whole has cooperated well with the questionnaires, interviews and so on, and these questions seem to have provided food for thought for some students. For me this has been extremely useful, as interviews etc. have provided me with feedback and understanding, so that I can make changes to my teaching.

THE SYLLABUS

Although this is something outside our control, I definitely feel a simpler, less Euro-centric syllabus would help all students.

THANK YOU!

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ada, A. 1986. Creative education for bilingual teachers. Harvard Education Review. 56, 4.
- Alexander, N. 1989. Language Policy and National Unity in South Africa/Azania. Buchu Books.
- Alternative Education Institutions Project Team. 1989. The Independent Examinations Board: progress and prospects. Perspectives in Education. 11, 1.
- Allwright, D. 1988. Observation in the Language Classroom. Longman.
- Allwright, R. 1984. The importance of interaction in classroom language learning. Applied Linguistics. 5, 2.
- Asson, G. 1986. Trouble-shooting in interaction with learners: the more the merrier? Applied Linguistics. 7, 2.
- Atkinson, N. 1984. Multi-Cultural Education: a case study for education for Popagano in Bophuthatswana. University of Bophuthatswana Education Research Monograph.
- August, D. 1987. Effects of peer tutoring on the second language acquisition of Mexican American children in elementary school. TESOL. 21, 4.
- Barnes, D. 1975. From Communication to Curriculum. Penguin.
- Barnes, D., Britton, F. and Torbe, M. 1986. Language, the Learner and the School. Penguin.
- Bejarano, Y. 1987. A cooperative small-group methodology in the language classroom. TESOL. 21, 3.
- Bialystok, E. 1980. A theoretical model of second language Learning. In Croft (ed) Readings on English as a Second Language. Winthrop.
- Bialystok, E. 1985. The compatibility of teaching and learning strategies. Applied Linguistics. 6, 3.
- Bialystok, E. and Sharwood Smith, M. 1985. Interlanguage is not a state of mind. Applied Linguistics. 6, 2.

- Blacquiere, A. 1989. Reading for survival: text and the second language student. South African Journal of Higher Education. 3, 1.
- Bourne, J. 1988. "Natural acquisition" and a "masked pedagogy". Applied Linguistics. 9, 1.
- Breen, M. 1985. Authenticity in the language classroom. Applied Linguistics. 6, 1.
- Britton, Burgess, et al. 1975. The Development of Writing Abilities (11 - 18). MacMillan.
- Britzman, D. 1986. Cultural myths in the making of a teacher: biography and social structure in teacher education. Harvard Education Review. 56, 4.
- Brown, D. 1988. Speaking in tongues: apartheid and language in South Africa. Perspectives in Education. 10, 2.
- Brown, G. 1986. Investigating listening comprehension in context. Applied Linguistics. 7, 3.
- Brown, G. 1987. Twenty-five years of teaching listening comprehension. FORUM. 25, 4.
- Brown, J. 1987. The application of applied linguistic theory to school content subjects. In Young, (ed) Education at the Crossroads. Maskew Millar.
- Brumfit, C. and Johnson, K. 1979. The Communicative Approach to Language Teaching. Oxford University Press.
- Burman, S. and Reynolds P. (eds) 1986. Growing up in a Divided Society: the contexts of childhood in South Africa. Ravan Press.
- Burstall, C. 1979. Primary French in the balance. In Pride (ed) Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning and Teaching. Oxford University Press.
- Bygate, M. 1988. Units of oral expression and language learning in small group interaction. Applied Linguistics. 9, 1.
- Carlson, D. 1988. Beyond the reproductive theory of teaching. In Cole (ed) Bowles and Gintis Revisited. Falmer Press.

- Centre for Adult and Continuing Education. 1987. People's Education: a collection of articles from December 1985 - May 1987. University of the Western Cape.
- Cahill, D. 1986. An evaluation of Australia's multicultural educational programme. Journal of Multicultural and Multilingual Development. 7, 1.
- Carrell, P. 1987. Content and formal schemata in ESL reading. TESOL. 21, 3.
- Cashdan, A. (ed) 1979. Language, Reading and Learning. Blackwell.
- Carter, R. 1987. Is there a core vocabulary? Some implications for language teaching. Applied Linguistics. 8, 2.
- Chaudron, C. 1987. Introduction: analysis of products and instructional approaches in writing: two articles on the state of the art. TESOL. 21, 4.
- Chick, K. 1986. International perspectives on communicative needs of Zulu work seekers. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development. 7.
- Chomsky, N. 1972. Language and Mind. Harcourt, Bruce, Jovanovich.
- Christie, P. and Collins, C. 1984. Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction. In Kallaway (ed) Apartheid and Education. Ravan Press.
- Christison, M. and Krahnke, K. 1986. Student perceptions of academic language study. TESOL. 20, 1.
- o Cleghorn, A. and Genesee, F. 1984. Language in contact: an ethnographic study of interaction in an immersion school. TESOL. 18, 4.
- o Cohen, A. 1984. Studying second-language learning strategies: how do we get the information? Applied Linguistics. 5, 2.
- Cohen, A. and Swain, M. 1979. Bilingual education: the 'immersion model' in the North American context. In Pride (ed) Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning and Teaching. Oxford University Press.
- Cohen, L. and Manion, L. 1980. Research Methods in Education. Croon Helm.

- Collier, V. 1987. Age and rate of acquisition of second language for academic purposes. TESOL. 21, 4.
- Connor, U. 1987. Research frontiers in writing analysis. TESOL. 21, 4.
- Cook-Gumperz, J. (ed) 1986. The Social Construction of Literacy. Cambridge University Press.
- Coulthard, M. 1985. An Introduction to Discourse Analysis. Longman.
- Cramton, M. 1984. Some aspects of the teaching of English as a main language at the secondary level with special reference to the question of language. Master's Dissertation. Rhodes University.
- Croft, K. (ed) 1980. Readings on English as a Second Language. Winthrop.
- Cross, D. 1985. Review of: R. Ellis, Classroom Second Language Development. TESOL. 19, 4.
- Cross, M. 1989. Youth culture and resistance in South African education for blacks: a theoretical review. Unpublished paper delivered at staff seminar, Education Faculty, University of the Western Cape.
- Crow, J. and Quigley, J. 1985. A semantic field approach to passive vocabulary acquisition for reading comprehension. TESOL. 19, 3.
- Cummins, J. 1986. Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. Harvard Education Review. 56, 1.
- Cummins, J. and Swain, M. 1983. Analysis-by-rhetoric: reading the text or the reader's own projections? A reply to Edelsky et al. Applied Linguistics. 4, 1.
- Cummins, J. and Swain, M. 1986. Bilingualism in Education: aspects of theory, research and practice. Longman.
- Cziko, G. 1984. Some problems with empirically-based models of communicative competence. Applied Linguistics. 5, 1.
- Davies, A. (ed) 1975. Problems of Language and Learning. Heinemann.

- Davies, A. 1984. Language and culture in multicultural societies. In Corner, T. (ed) Education in Multicultural Societies. Croon Helm.
- Davies, A. 1989. Communicative competence as language use. Applied Linguistics. 10, 2.
- Davies, R. 1986. A socio-comparative study of multicultural education in Oranjemund, Namibia. Master's Dissertation. UCT.
- Deem, R. 1986. Gender and social class. In Rogers (ed) Education and Social Class. Falmer Press.
- Delpit, L. 1986. Skills and other dilemmas of a progressive black teacher. Harvard Education Review. 56, 4.
- Dubin, F. 1989. Studying Literacy within traditions of communicative competence. Applied Linguistics. 10, 2.
- Edelsky, C. et al. 1983. Semi-lingualism and language deficit. Applied Linguistics. 4, 1.
- Edwards, A. 1976. Language in Culture and Class: the sociology of language in education. Heinemann.
- Edwards, A. and Furlong, V. 1978. The Language of Teaching: meaning in classroom interaction. Heinemann.
- Edwards, D. and Mercer, N. 1987. Common Knowledge: the development of understanding in the classroom. Methuen.
- Edwards, A. and Westgate, D. 1987. Investigating Classroom Talk. The Falmer Press.
- Eisner, E. 1988. The primacy of experience and the politics of method. Educational Researcher. 17, 5.
- Ellis, R. 1984. Can Syntax be taught? A study of the effects of formal instruction on the acquisition of wh-questions by children. Applied Linguistics. 5, 2.
- Ellis, R. 1985. Sources of variability in interlanguage. Applied Linguistics. 6, 2.
- Ellis, R. 1986. Understanding Second Language Acquisition. Oxford University Press.

- Ellis, R. 1987. Using the English medium in African schools. In Young (ed) Bridging the Gap. Maskew Millar.
- Ellis, R. 1988. The effects of linguistic environment on the second language acquisition of grammatical rules. Applied Linguistics. 9, 3.
- Enright, D. and McLoskey, M. 1985. Yes, talking!: organizing the classroom to promote second language acquisition. TESOL. 9, 3.
- Farr, M. and Janda, M. 1985. Basic writing students: investigating oral and written language. Research in the Teaching of English. 19.
- Faerch, C. and Kasper, G. 1984. Pragmatic knowledge: rules and procedures. Applied Linguistics. 5, 2.
- Faerch, C. and Kasper, G. 1986. The role of comprehension in second-language learning. Applied Linguistics. 7, 3.
- Felix, S. and Hahn, A. 1985. Natural processes in classroom second language learning. Applied Linguistics. 6, 3.
- File, J. 1986. The politics of excellence: university education in the South African context. Social Dynamics. 12, 1.
- Flege, J. 1987. A critical period for learning to pronounce foreign languages? Applied Linguistics. 8, 2.
- Flanagan, W., Breen, C. and Walker, M. (eds) 1984. Action Research: justified optimism or wishful thinking. University of Cape Town.
- Freire, P. and Macedo, D. 1987. Literacy: reading the word and the world. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Gardner, M. 1987. Liberating language: people's English for the future. Unpublished paper delivered at the History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Gere, A. and Abbott, R. 1985. Talking about writing: the language of writing groups. Research in the teaching of English. 19.
- Giroux, H. 1981. Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling. Falmer Press.

- Giroux, H. 1983. Theory and Resistance in Education. Bergin and Garvey.
- Giroux, H. and McLaren, P. 1986. Teacher Education and the politics of engagement: the case for democratic schooling. Harvard Education Review. 56, 3.
- Gordon, J. 1981. Verbal Deficit: a critique. Croon Helm.
- Graman, T. 1988. Education for humanisation: applying Paulo Freire's pedagogy to learning a second language. Harvard Education Review. 58, 4.
- Gregg, K. 1984. Krashen's monitor and Occams's razor. Applied Linguistics. 5, 2.
- Grosjean, F. 1982. Life with Two Languages: an introduction to bilingualism. Harvard University Press.
- Grugeon, E. and D. 1979. English in the later primary years. In Cashdan (ed) Language, Reading and Learning. Blackwell.
- Halliday, M. and Hasan, R. 1976. Cohesion in English. Longman.
- Hammersley, M. and Hargreaves, A. 1983. Curriculum Practice: some sociological case studies. Falmer Press.
- Hartman, N. 1989. Syndicate peer group learning: an alternative process. South African Journal of Higher Education. 3, 1.
- Hartshorne, K. 1986. Post apartheid education: a concept in progress. In CACE (ed) People's Education: a collection of articles from December 1985 - May 1987. UWC.
- Hartshorne, K. 1987. Language policy in African education in South Africa, 1910 - 1985, with particular reference to the issue of medium of instruction. In Young (ed) Bridging the Gap. Maskew Millar.
- Heath, S. 1983. Ways with Words: language, life and work in communities and classrooms. Cambridge University Press.
- Heugh, K. 1987. Underlying ideologies of language medium policies in multilingual societies with particular reference to South Africa. Master's Dissertation. UCT.

- Hopkins, D. 1985. A Teacher's Guide to Classroom Research. Open University Press.
- Horowitz, D. 1986. Process and product: less than meets the eyes. TESOL. 20, 1.
- Hudelson, S. 1984. Kan yu ret an rayt en Ingles: children become literate in English as a second language. TESOL. 18, 2.
- Jeffcoate, R. 1979. Positive Image: towards a multicultural curriculum. Cameleon Press.
- Janks, H. 1986. Critical linguistics and the teaching of language. Unpublished paper delivered at Kenton Conference.
- Johnson, D. 1989. People's Education and the politics of writing: issues, perspectives and possibilities for a future South Africa. Unpublished paper delivered at Essex conference on Economic Change, Social Conflict and Education in Contemporary South Africa.
- Johnson, K. and Porter, D. (eds) 1983. Perspectives in Communicative Teaching. Academic Press.
- Keddie, N. (ed) 1973. tinker, tailor... The Myth of Cultural Deprivation. Penguin.
- Khanya College. 1988. Student centred learning strategies and their relevance to mass education. Unpublished paper delivered at ASP Conference, UCT.
- Krashen, S. 1981. Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning. Pergamon Press.
- Krashen, S. 1980. A monitor model for adult second language performance. In Croft (ed) Readings on English as a Second Language. Winthrop.
- Labov, W. 1972. Language in the Inner City: studies in the Black English Vernacular. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labrie, N. and Clement, R. 1986. Ethnolinguistic vitality, self-confidence and second language proficiency: an investigation. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development. 7.

- Lanham L. and Prinsloo, K. (eds). 1978 Language and Communication Studies in South Africa: current issues and directions in research and inquiry. Oxford University Press.
- Larsen-Freeman, D. 1987. From unity to diversity: 25 years of language-teaching methodology. Forum. 25, 4.
- Lather, P. 1986. Research as Praxis. Harvard Education Review. 56, 3.
- Levin, R. 1989. People's Education and the struggle for democracy in South Africa. Unpublished paper delivered at Essex Conference on Economic Change, Social Conflict and Education in Contemporary South Africa.
- Lindfors, J. 1987. Children's Language and Learning. Prentice-Hall.
- Long, M. 1984. Process and product in ESL programme evaluation. TESOL. 18, 3.
- Long, M. and Porter, P. 1985. Group work, interlanguage talk, and second language acquisition. TESOL. 19, 2.
- Lunzer, E. and Dolan, T. 1979. Reading for learning in the secondary school. In Cashdan (ed) Language, Reading and Learning. Blackwell.
- Macdonald, C. 1988a. Cultural views of learning and their influence on teaching styles. Lengwitch.
- Macdonald, C. 1988b. Language in the primary school. Address delivered to the Curriculum and Examination Council, Mafeking.
- Malherbe, E. 1943. The Bilingual School: a study in bilingualism in South Africa. Bilingual School Association.
- Martin-Jones, M. and Romaine, S. 1986. Semi-lingualism: a half-baked theory of communicative competence. Applied Linguistics. 7, 1.
- McCormick, K. 1986. Children's use of language in District Six. In Burman and Reynolds (eds) Growing up in a Divided Society. Ravan Press.
- McGroarty, M. 1984. Some meanings of communicative competence for second language students. TESOL. 18, 2.

- McLaughlin, B. 1987. Theories of Second-Language Learning. Edward Arnold.
- Medway, P. 1980. Finding a Language: autonomy and learning in school. Chameleon Press.
- Michael, J., et al. 1985. Learning strategy applications with students of English as a second language. TESOL. 19, 3.
- Millar, J. 1983. Many Voices: bilingualism, culture and education. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Milk, R. 1985. The changing role of ESL in bilingual education. TESOL. 19, 4.
- Mkatshwa, S. 1985. Keynote address to the National Consultative Conference on the Crisis in Education. In CACE (ed) People's Education: a collection of articles from December 1985 - May 1987. UWC.
- Moema, T. 1989. The cultural perspectives and possibilities for a future South Africa. Unpublished paper delivered at Essex Conference on Economic Change, Social Conflict and Education in Contemporary South Africa.
- Mohan, B. and Au-Yeung Lo, W. 1985. Academic writing and, Chinese students: transfer and developmental factors. TESOL. 19, 3.
- Moll, I. and Slonimsky, L. 1988. Towards an understanding of cognition and learning in the academic support context. Unpublished Paper delivered at ASP Conference at Salt Rock.
- Molobi, E. 1986. South Africa: education under apartheid. In CACE (ed) People's Education: a collection of articles from December 1985 - May 1987. UWC.
- Morris, A. 1986. Social class and matric results. Perspectives in Education. 9, 1.
- Morrow, K. and Schocker, M. 1987. Using texts in a communicative approach. ELT. 41, 4.
- Muller, K. 1986. The practice of school science. Master's dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Nagle, S. and Saunders, S. 1986. Comprehension theory and second language pedagogy. TESOL. 20, 1.

- Nasson, B. 1986. Perspectives on education in South Africa. In Reynolds and Burman (eds) Growing up in a Divided Society. Ravan Press.
- Ndebele, N. 1986. The English language and social change in South Africa. Keynote address delivered at Jubilee Conference of the English Academy of South Africa.
- Ngugi W. 1986. Decolonising the Mind: the politics of language in African literature. Heinemann.
- Nixon, J. 1985. A Teacher's Guide to Multicultural Education. Basil Blackwell.
- Ogbu, J. 1978. Minority Education and Caste: the American system in cross-cultural perspective. American Press.
- O'Malley, J. et al. 1985. Learning strategy applications with students of English as a second language. TESOL. 19, 3.
- Peacock, C. 1986. Teaching Writing. Croon Helm.
- Penfield, J. 1987. ESL: the regular classroom teacher's perspective. TESOL. 21, 1.
- People's Education for Teachers. 1987. Proceedings of a conference held at the University of the Western Cape.
- Perkins, D. 1988. Improving writing performance and language competence through reading. Unpublished paper delivered at Southern African Association for Academic Development Conference.
- Pica, T., Young, R. and Doughty, C. 1987. The impact of interaction on comprehension. TESOL. 21, 4.
- Popkewitz, T. and Tabachnik, B. (eds) 1981. The Study of Schooling: field based methodologies in educational research and evaluation. Praeger.
- Pratt, D. 1987. A process approach: the formulation of a simplified conceptual framework showing the stages of the writing process, and an investigation into the effects on writing behaviour of communicating this framework directly to the learner. Master's Dissertation, University of Natal.
- Pride, J. (ed) 1979. Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning and Teaching. Oxford University Press.

- Raforth, B. 1985. Audience adaptation in the essays of proficient and nonproficient freshman writers. Research in the Teaching of English. 19.
- Raimes, A. 1983. Techniques in Teaching Writing. Oxford University Press.
- Raimes, A. 1985. What unskilled ESL students do as they write: a classroom study of composing. TESOL. 19, 2.
- Raimes, A. 1987a. Exploring through Writing: a process approach to ESL composition. Instructor's manual. St Martin's Press.
- Raimes, A. 1987b. Why Write? From purpose to pedagogy. Forum. 25, 4.
- Randall, P. 1982. Little England on the Veld: the English private school in South Africa. Ravan.
- Rivers, W. (ed) 1987. Interactive Language Teaching. Cambridge University Press.
- Rodseth, J. 1988. Establishing and developing reading skills in black primary schools. Lengwitch. 1988.
- Rogers, R. (ed) 1986. Education and Social Class. Falmer Press.
- Romaine, S. 1984. The Language of Children and Adolescents: the acquisition of communicative competence. Basil Blackwell.
- Rubin, J. 1979. What 'the good language learner' can teach us. In Pride (ed) Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning and Teaching. Oxford University Press.
- Savage, J. (ed) 1973. Linguistics for Teachers. Science Research Associates.
- Savignon, S. 1987. What's what in communicative language teaching. Forum. 25, 4.
- Saville-Troike, M. 1984. What really matters in second language learning for academic achievement? TESOL. 18, 2.
- Scarcella, R. 1984. How writers orient their readers in expository essays: a comparative study of native and non-native English writers. TESOL. 18, 4.

- Scarth, J. 1983. Teachers' school-based experiences of examining. In Hammersley (ed) Curriculum Practice. Falmer Press.
- Schachter, J. 1988. Second language acquisition and its relationship to universal grammar. Applied Linguistics. 9, 3.
- Schumann, J. 1980. Affective factors and the problem of age in second language acquisition. In Croft (ed) Readings on English as a Second Language. Winthrop.
- Schumann, J. 1986. Research on the acculturation model for second language acquisition. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development. 7.
- Searle, C. 1972. The Forsaken Lover: white words and black people. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Selinker, L. and Douglas, D. 1985. Wrestling with 'context' in interlanguage theory. Applied Linguistics. 6, 2.
- Shor, I. 1986. Equality is excellence. Harvard Education Review. 56, 4.
- Sharp, R. 1980. Knowledge, Ideology and the Politics of Schooling. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Sharp, R. 1981. Marxism, the concept of ideology, and its implications for fieldwork. In Popkewitz and Tabachnik (eds) The Study of Schooling: field based methodologies in educational research and evaluation. Praeger.
- Sharwood Smith, M. 1986. Comprehension versus acquisition: two ways of processing input. Applied Linguistics. 7, 3.
- Silberstein, S. 1987. Let's take another look at reading: twenty-five years of reading instruction. Forum. 25, 4.
- Simons, R. 1986. Classroom communication and schooling: a case-study of teaching and learning in a secondary school in Soweto. Master's dissertation, UCT.
- Sinclair, J. and Coulthard, R. 1975. Towards an Analysis of Discourse: the English used by teachers and pupils. Oxford University Press.
- Slavin, R. 1983. Cooperative Learning. Longman.

- Soni, N. 1981. Problems for the teaching of English deriving from the home background of a group of South African Indian school pupils. Master's dissertation, University of Natal.
- Sorace, A. 1985. Metalinguistic knowledge and language use in acquisition-poor environments. Applied Linguistics. 6, 3.
- Soudien, C. 1989. Review: People's Education in South Africa. Perspectives in Education. 11, 1.
- Soudien, C. et al. 1989. The problems of certification and People's Education. Unpublished paper presented at ASSA conference.
- Spack, R. 1984. Invention strategies and the ESL college composition student. TESOL. 18, 4.
- Spack, R. 1985. Literature, reading, writing, and ESL: bridging the gaps. TESOL. 19, 4.
- Spada, N. 1987. Relationships between instructional differences and learning autonomy: a process-product study of communicative language teaching. Applied Linguistics. 8, 2.
- Stenhouse, L. 1975. An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development. Heinemann.
- Stephenson, M. 1986. Register, cohesion and cross-cultural reading comprehension. Applied Linguistics. 7,1.
- Stern, H. 1980. What can we learn from the good language learner? In Croft (ed) Readings on English as a Second Language. Whitlings.
- Stern, H. 1983. Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching. Oxford University Press.
- Stern, S. 1987. Expanded dimensions to literature in ESL/EFL: an integrated approach. Forum. 25, 4.
- Stevens, P. 1987. English as an international language. Forum. 25, 4.
- Stuart, J. et al (eds) 1985. Case-Studies in Development Studies Teaching in Lesotho Classrooms. Maseru.
- Stubbs, M. 1980. Language and Literacy: the sociolinguistics of reading and writing. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Stubbs, M. 1983. Language, Schools and Classrooms. Methuen.
- Stubbs, M. and Hillier, H. (eds) 1983. Readings on Language, Schools and Classrooms. Methuen.
- Thompson, G. 1987. Using bilingual dictionaries. ELT. 41, 4.
- Thornton, G. 1980. Teaching Writing: the development of written language skills. Edward Arnold.
- Timm, J. 1986. The consistency of interlanguage in task-bound second-language production. Applied Linguistics. 7, 1.
- Torbe, M. 1979. Putting it into practice: language and learning in the secondary school. In Cashdan (ed) Language, Reading and Learning. Blackwell.
- Trudgill, P. 1975. Accent, Dialect and the School: explorations in language study. Edwin Arnold.
- Trudgill, P. 1983. On Dialect: social and geographical perspectives. Basil Blackwell.
- Trudgill, P. (ed) 1984. Applied Sociolinguistics. Academic Press.
- Urzua, C. 1987. "You stopped too soon": second language children composing and revising. TESOL. 21, 2.
- Van Zijl, J. 1987. Teacher education for a multi-cultural society: seven strategies. South African Journal of Higher Education. 7, 3.
- Varonis, E. and Gass, S. 1985. Non-native/non-native conversations: a model for negotiation of meaning. Applied Linguistics. 6, 1.
- Via, R. 1987. "The magic if" of theater: enhancing language learning through drama. In Rivers, (ed) Interactive Language Teaching. Cambridge University Press.
- Von Schon, C. 1987. The question of pronunciation. Forum. 25, 4.
- Vygotsky, L. 1962. Thought and Language. MIT Press.
- Walker, G. 1987. The design of English language teaching materials for the black primary school in southern Africa. In Young (ed) Bridging the Gap. Maskew Millar.

- Walker, M. 1989a. Action research in South African schools: gilding gutter education or transforming schooling? Unpublished paper delivered at Essex Conference on Economic Change, Social Conflict and Education in Contemporary South Africa.
- Walker, M. 1989b. Critical in-service teacher education in Apartheid South Africa: constraints and possibilities. Unpublished paper, UCT Primary Education Project.
- Watson-Gegeo, K. 1988. Ethnography in ESL: defining the essentials. TESOL. 22, 4.
- Wehlage, G. 1981. The purpose of evaluation in field-study research. In Popkewitz and Tabachnik (eds) The Study of Schooling: field based methodologies in educational research and evaluation. Praeger.
- Weinstein, G. 1984. Literacy and second language acquisition: issues and perspectives. TESOL. 18, 2.
- Wenden, A. 1986. What do second-language learners know about their language learning? A second look at retrospective accounts. Applied Linguistics. 7, 2.
- White, L. 1987. Against comprehensible input: the input hypothesis and the development of second-language competence. Applied Linguistics. 8, 2.
- Wolpe, A. 1989. Gender relations and class: a response to Collins and Stacey. Berkley Journal of Sociology. 34.
- Yagodin, Y. 1989. Towards Higher standards in education through its humanization and democratization. Novosti Press Agency Publishing House.
- Young, D. 1986. Language across the curriculum. Unpublished paper presented at the Conference on the Role of Language in Black Education, Pretoria.
- Young, D. (ed) Bridging the Gap. Maskew Millar.
- Young, D. and Burns, R. (eds) 1987. Education at the Crossroads. UCT School of Education.
- Young, M. 1971. Knowledge and Control: new directions for the sociology of education. Collier-Macmillan.

- Yule, G. 1986. Comprehensible notions. Applied Linguistics. 7, 3.
- Zamel, V. 1985. Responding to student writing. TESOL. 19, 1.
- Zamel, V. 1987. Recent research on writing pedagogy. TESOL. 21, 4.

24. etnā jōr se calailasmoṭarwā.
 such strength ABL move.CAUS.3 sg.past car.DEF
 'He drove the car at such speed.'

In addition purpose clauses and complements of the copula hai/rahē admit a very English-like order: In sentences 25 to 30 below, the complementary purposive clauses follow the main verb in paratactic constructions, instead of being embedded in the more usual Indian Bhoj way (see 2.6.4, especially 57 and 58):

25. calī-jā ham...bagaśā kare.
 go.SUBJ-1pl we visit do.INF
 'Let us go visiting.'

26. tōr ṭhēn hē.....kaprā dhowe ke
 you.GEN turn be.3 sg.pres clothes wash.INF DAT.
 'It's your turn to wash the clothes!'

27. ham jaib dēkhe....ōke.
 I go.1sg.fut see.INF he.ACC
 'I will go to see him.'

In these examples, taken from the data for third generation fluent speakers, the word order is very similar to that of English (even though these were not translation exercises, but free conversation among mainly female speakers for whom SABh was either the dominant or equal-first language). The following sentences, elicited under similar circumstances, show the occasional postposing of complements of the copula hai (present), and rah-(past):

28. jō rahat barkā mōṭar, ham lōg mar jāṭī.
 if be.CF.3sg.past big.DEF car we PL die 'go'CF.1pl.past
 'If it had been the big car, we would have died.'

29. tū rahana nānī ke sanghe.....ham jaib.
 you stay.FUT IMP granny DAT COM. I go.1sg.fut
 'You must stay with your granny; I will go.'

30. Koi nei hē ghar mē,
 any not be.3 sg. pres house LOC
 'No one is in the house'

These sentences are, however, the exception and not the rule; though were English and SABh to co-exist for many more decades (an unlikely prospect), it is not inconceivable that the latter would approximate more and more to a VO order, all other things being equal.

5.6.6 Desiderative Constructions with hōnā: SABh uses the verb hōnā 'to want' as both full verb and auxiliary. This idiosyncratic verb, uninflected for person, number, and even tense, is used with dative subjects as follows:

31. hamke cā hōnā.
 me.DAT tea want
 'I want tea'
32. chokrā ke nahai ke hōnā.
 boy DAT bathe.INF DAT want
 'The boy wishes to bathe.'
33. tōke ēk aur takia hōnā rahī?
 You.DAT one more pillow want be.3 sg. fut
 'Will you be wanting/needing one more pillow?'

This sentence literally says 'Will one more pillow be wanting to you?', with rahī, the third person, future auxiliary being used in an impersonal dative construction with hōnā.

34. nātī lōg ke pūche ke hōnā rahāi.
 grandchild PL DAT ask.INF DAT want be. 3 sg. past
 'He wanted to ask about the grandchildren'

This verb has ousted the usual Indian Bhoj verb cāh- 'to wish, want', and such expressions as ū jae cāhatā 'he wishes to go' would not be accepted in ordinary SABh of today. There is no parallel use of hōnā in any language of North India; in Standard Hindi the word hōnā is the infinitive form of the verb 'to be', and functions quite differently from SABh hōnā. It seemed to me at one time that this construction must be an example of the influence of Fanagalo on SABh, where a phonetically and syntactically

parallel word funa occurs :

35. yena funa lo muhle muti.
 he want DEF good medicine
 'He wants strong medicine'

36. mina funa hamba lapa lo ndawo ga doktela.
 I want go there DEF place GEN doctor
 'I want to go to the doctor's surgery.'

Funa, like hōnā, is an invariant verb that can be used as full verb or auxiliary, but differs in that it is not used with dative subjects. Unexpectedly, however, I encountered an identical use of hōnā in a grammar of Dakhini Urdu of India.

37. use ēk naī sārī hōnā kate.
 she.DAT a new sari want say. 3 sg pres
 'She says she wants a new sari'. (R.L. Schmidt 1981:43)

This construction is in fact also widely used in South African Urdu, which is a composite of various languages/dialects: Awadhi, Dakhini Urdu, Indian Bhoj and the Urdu of North East India, and must have entered SABh at an early stage since it is used by all speakers to the exclusion of the original construction involving cāh-.

5.6.7 Emphatic Verb forms in -ō: A construction which, to my knowledge, does not have analogues in other Indic languages or dialects is one which uses imperative verb forms in an emphatic, past, obligative context (see 3.8.7).

38. phagire phīn ūṭh-ō..... phīn bhāg-ō, markat kanē.
 morning LOC again awaken-IMP again run-IMP market GOAL
 'Every morning we had to awaken, and then make haste to the market.'

39. khāw-ō, kamāw-ō, rah-ō..... weisan rahal.
 eat.CAUS-IMP work.CAUS-IMP live-IMP that be.3sg.past
 'Feed, work, live... that's how it was.'

This construction is used by the oldest speakers (most of whom belong to the second generation), and is uncommon among succeeding generations. It seems to be a stylistic rule, quoting the direct commands of those who had the power to make them, and containing a string of verbs without a co-ordinator or conjunctive particle. The more usual Indian Bhoj construction involving an impersonal construction with the infinitive in -e + particle ke and the modal verb par (literally 'to fall'), or the auxiliary hai 'is', or rahā 'was', in their third person form, however, prevails in less emphatic instances of obligation:

40. ham iōg ke bahut kām kare ke parai.
 we PL DAT much work do.INF DAT 'fall'.3sg.past

'We had to do a lot of work.'

5.6.8 Changes in the use of Modals: Replacement of cāh- 'to wish' by hōnā has already been mentioned. In addition the modal pā- 'to manage' has become obsolete, except for some instances in the speech of a few members of the second generation. For the majority of speakers the subtle (and not always clearly defined) distinction between pā- 'to manage' and sak- 'to be able' (see 2.5.5) which obtains in Indian Bhoj and other Indic languages has collapsed, with sak- being used in both senses:

Another modal-like verb cuk- 'to finish' has become obsolete, being replaced by an invariant form khalās, plus some form of the verb kar- 'to do', or the copula hē- /rah-/bheil.

41. āpan kām nei khalās kailas.
 REFLEX work not finish do.3sg.past

'She did not complete her work.'

42. jab pūjā sabh khalās bheil, tab ham iōg
 when prayer all finish happen.3sg.past then we PL

ghare lautaillī
house return.1 pl.past

'After the prayers were completed, we returned home'.

This usage originates in the "Bombay bazaar-Hindi" used by Gujarati-Hindi bilingual merchants of Durban and occurs in colloquial Gujarati of South Africa as well. It is noteworthy that the verb cuk- was also replaced in Trinidad and Guyanese Bhoj, where the Creole particle don, denoting completion of action is the preferred form (Ramesar 1978; Gambhir 1981).

Finally the incorporation of the English modal must in SABh in the form of a modal-like construction raises the question why the modals (as both semantic and syntactic entities) should be so receptive to change. SABh uses the phrase mas kar ke, based on English must, and the Bhoj kar, which is the same kar 'to do' that occurs after borrowed (full) verbs (eg draiv kar- 'to drive'), but which in this instance cannot be inflected for tense, person or number; whilst the third element of this construction is the Bhoj conjunctive particle 'having'. This is basically an 'internal compulsion' construction used in a habitual sense, with the main verb that follows it having an invariant ending -nā, an ending usually associated with the future imperative (see 3.8.6), but which here seems to signify habitual action. Thus the sentence Ham mas kar ke jānā means 'I must go (because I want to)', or 'I always go (because I love to)'. It does not mean 'I must be on my way (because I have to)', for which the usual Indian Bhoj construction of 'external compulsion' involving use of the copula he/rāh or the modal par 'to fall' (or less literally 'to have to') prevails: Hamke jāi ke parī. Similarly a sentence like Ū mas kar ke pakānā means 'She always cooks' (or 'She always has the urge to cook'); the suggestion being that she, out of enthusiasm, would find it inconceivable not to cook. The impetus for this construction comes from colloquial SAIE, which, in addition to the usual English uses of the modal must, has a (non-standard) construction in which must denotes habitual aspect or 'internal compulsion' or both. In this usage there is a rising intonation on the subject NP,

as well as lengthening of the main stressed syllable of that NP.

Thus the sentence 'That feller must go to the races' (phonetically [dʒæt fɔlɪz mʌs go:tu ðə reɪsɪz]) suggests habitual and enthusiastic traits associated with the subject, but carry no sense of being compelled by the speaker.

The construction makes no literal sense at all; ham mas kar ke jānā for example, literally states 'I-must-do-having-must go'. It is a more recent innovation in SABh than the other borrowings dealt with above, started by third generation English-Bhoj bilinguals, probably female. Whereas most, if not all, speakers are unaware of the foreign-ness of the khalās and hōnā constructions to the Bhoj of the original migrants, mas kar ke is easily recognised as an English-based usage, which is nevertheless spreading like the proverbial wild-fire, to even the oldest second generation speakers, both male and female. Indeed, one or two recent instances of its use suggest that the construction is being generalised semantically to include the more usual English sense of external compulsion. I have heard the sentence Baccan mas Hindī bāt karnā 'Children must speak Hindi', spoken by a female octogenarian, which is unusual in omitting the kar ke part of the formula, as well as in not suggesting internal compulsion as a primary connotation, and Tū mas kar ke dukān jānā bihān 'You must go to the shop tomorrow', (in the sense of 'I think you should go, because you will find it fascinating', not 'I compel you to go'), spoken by a middle-aged woman.

It is again worthy of note that at least one other "transplanted" variety of Bhoj also has borrowed mas: Ramesar (1978) reports the use of mas as adverbial in Trinidad Bhoj (from Creole mas, ultimately English must).

5.6.9 Deletion of the copula/aux hē: There is an optional rule in SABh even as used by the oldest speakers of deleting the copula hē in sentences in which it is understood:

43. bahut dīn ke admī, ham
 many day GEN person I
 'I am a person of many days'.

44. barā chokrī hamār bhāī ke betī.
big girl me. GEN brother GEN daughter
'The big girl is my brother's daughter.'

45. bhittar jāī ke nei hukkum.
inside go. INF DAT not permission
'Going inside is not allowed.'

In each instance it would be more usual to include the copula in sentence final position, except if a topicalised subject occurs finally (as in 43), in which case the copula precedes the topicalised elements. The past (suppletive) form of the copula - rahā - is, however, never deleted, and a deleted copula is always understood to have present signification. The following sentences illustrate that hē may also be deleted if it is an auxiliary:

46. ū hamke ām dēlē.
he me.DAT mango give.3 sg.past
'He has given me mangoes.'

In this sentence the aux hē, denoting perfective aspect has been deleted from its final position. Non-perfective aspect, without the auxiliary hē would require a different verbal ending -las/-lak, not -le. (Some speakers however, seem to use -las and -le interchangeably as endings for the third person, past transitive, and although perfective aspect in their speech is usually expressed by the -le ending + hē, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether sentences like 45 above express perfective aspect (with copula deletion), or non-perfective aspect)

Sentence 47 below shows that hē may be deleted (again optionally) even when it is used in the present habitual sense:

47. Dēban ke phal ham iōg nei bōe.
Durban GEN fruit we PL not plant
'We do not plant the fruits you get in Durban'

In this sentence the auxiliary hē in final position is understood. An intermediary stage, for some speakers, between the presence of the

copula/auxiliary hē is found in its phonological reduction to [ə], or in the devoicing of the entire word, making it a whisper, so faint as to be often inaudible or just perceivable as a trace of aspiration on the last syllable of the previous word. Some examples are:

48. ū kām karat [ə]
he work do .PP is
'He is working.'

49. ī hamār bahin ke cokrā [h].
this me. GEN sister GEN son is.
'This is my sister's son.'

5.7 The Social Uses of Language: Bhojpuri of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh despite a fledgling literary output, is still very much a "folk" language, rich in oral tradition, abounding in stock phrases, idioms, proverbs, and short didactic poems to suit most occasions of daily living. In addition the speech community places a high premium on aesthetic play with language, including the use of onomatopoeia, echoes, riddles, and ritualised forms of abuse. In this section I attempt to compare such functions of language with current-day practice in SABh.

5.7.1 Forms of Greeting: In Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, as in much of India, patterns of greeting differ according to the caste of the persons involved. Generally one does not greet a person of lower caste, but waits for him to pay respects before replying. According to Misra (1980) a man of middle or low caste greets a brahmin as follows: Bābājī pāwlāgī 'Sir, Grandfather, I touch your feet', or Mahārājji gōr lāgat hai 'Sir, great king, I touch your feet', or Guruji dandawat 'Honourable teacher, I fall flat at your feet', to which the brahmin might reply less formally, Jiyā rah 'May you live long', or some such phrase. One brahmin greets another formally with pranām or namaskār, whereas members of other castes are less formal to each other, using terms like Rām Rām bhāī 'Greetings in the name of Ram, brother'. To non-brahmin high castes (eg. Kayasths, Kshatriyas) a brahmin uses Sanskritic formalisms like Āyusmān āyusmān 'May you live a long life'.

In formally greeting a woman of higher caste or an elderly one, a woman has to lift the corner of the other's sari and respectfully touch her own forehead with it five times; she must then grasp the other's foot and touch her own forehead with it, to which the woman being greeted replies Ehwāt banal rahō 'May your husband live long', or Betā hokhō 'May a son be born to you'.

Misra (1980:165) provides the following scale of respect in decreasing order of deference, current in the contemporary Bhoj of the state of Uttar Pradesh:

<u>Gesture of Greeting</u>	<u>Verbal Equivalent</u>
prostration	pāu lāgī
bowing, bending	praṇām/pranām
touching the feet	namaskār
folding hands	namastē
handshake	rām-rām
raising hands	jay siyārām

In SABh most of these formalities have become outmoded, with the usual form of greeting being namastē, accompanied with the palms of one's hands placed flat together in front of one's chest, as if in prayer. This is the form of greeting irrespective of caste, seniority or gender, though to denote particular respect for a priest (who is often, but not always of brahmin extraction) one adds the suffix of respect jī to his title (thus namastē pandijjī). First generation migrants and some of their immediate descendants did retain most of the forms of greetings cited above: older women today speak in awe of the strictness of mothers-in-law who used to expect their daughters-in-law to touch their feet in obeisance each time they left the house or re-entered it from an outside visit. The phrase pāu lāgī in SABh has become purely ritualised today, devoid of its etymological sense 'I touch your feet', as can be seen by younger mothers encouraging their children to greet their grandparents

thus, with the, literally incongruous, gesture of folding the palms together in respect.⁵

5.7.2 Proverbs: The rich store of Bhoj proverbs did not adapt well under the changed social and economic circumstances in South Africa, since they had their original inspiration from objects and situations essentially characteristic of Indian villages. Many of the proverbs are witty observations based on animal-lore, caste-lore, and intimate knowledge of the climate and environment, which, in time, became of remote relevance to life in South Africa. I present a few proverbs current in Bihar at the time of migrations (from the stock of proverbs and other observations scattered throughout Grierson's Bihar Peasant Life), which must have been known by some of the incoming migrants, but which are no longer extant in SABh:

cālani tūsal sūp kē janika sahasar goṭ chēd. (1885:117)

'The sieve which had a thousand holes, sneered at the winnowing basket' (cf English 'Pot calling the kettle black').

nai dhobiniyā aillī, lugriye sābun lailī. (1885:147)

'The new washerwoman has come and applied soap, even when washing rags.' (cf English 'New brooms sweep clean'.)

korhi barad kē phephaṛi bahut. (1885:288)

'It's the lazy bullock that puffs and snorts! (cf English 'Empty vessels make the most sound'.)

jauri jari gel, āiṭhan ṭhame. (1885:22)

'The rope may be burned, but the strands remain' (ie. a rich man who has come down in the world often retains his pride.)

ghar ke mārāl ban mē gailī; ban mē lāgalī āgi. (1903:212)

'I was beaten at home and went to the jungle. When I got there the jungle caught fire.' (cf English 'Out of the frying pan, into the fire'.)

taslā tōr ki mōr?

'Is this pot yours or mine? (c/f English 'Heads I win, tails you lose').

There is a delightful story regarding the origin of this proverb, cited by Grierson (1885: 129):

Once upon a time all the people of Rhojpur, in Shahabad, were robbers. When a traveller passed through one of these villages, they used to seize his cooking-pot, saying taslā tōr ki mōr 'Is this pot mine or yours?' If the traveller replied mōr 'mine', they would set upon him, and beat him and rob him of the vessel by force. If he said tōr 'yours', they used on his own admission, to take it from him and let him go peaceably. Thus, in any way, they plundered him. Hence the saying taslā tōr ki mōr has passed into a proverb, of which the application is easy to see.

The citing of proverbs is a lost art in SABh, in the course of ordinary conversation. However older speakers (over the age of fifty) were able to recall, often after much effort, some of the proverbs and witticisms used by their parents or other elders, a sampling of which is given in appendix 5.

5.7.3 Didactic Poems: Related to the proverbs of the previous section is the existence in Indian Bhoj of a large corpus of short formulaic didactic poems, whose function is to store and hand down in a readily assimilable form short pieces of wisdom concerning agriculture, the seasons and so on. They are usually rhyming couplets of equal measure, a selection of which (from Grierson 1885) is given below:

aradrā dhān punarbas paiya

gei kisān je boe ciraiya (1885:277)

'Paddy sown in Aradra (June) turns into plenty, sown in Punarbas (July) to chaff, sown in Ciraiya (August) it turns to nothing.'

serha sāṭhi sāṭh din

jẽw deb barse rāt din (1885:218)

'Serha and sāṭhi (types of grains) take sixty days to mature if it rains day and night.'

kodo maṛua an nahĩ

joihā dhuniya jan nahĩ (1885:227)

'Kodo and maṛua (types of millet) are not really food-grains, just as weavers and cotton-carders can never be cultivators.' (ie. kodo and maṛua are not fit as good food, and are only eaten out of necessity by the poorest.)

jaũ barse Baisakkha rāũ

ẽk dhān mē dohar chāũ (1885:275)

'If King Baisakh (=April/May) rains, every grain of paddy will produce two grains of rice'. (ie. it never rains in these months).

Mirgsirā tabay Rohini labay aradrā jay budbudāy

kahai ḍāk sunu Bhillari, kuttā bhāt na khāi (1885:275)

'If Mirgsira (= May/June) is hot, Rohini (=June/July) rains, and Aradra (=July/August) gives a few drops, Dak says "Hear, O Bhillari, even dogs will turn up their noses at rice " (because it will be so plentiful).'

Hathiyā barse tīn hot bā, sakkar, sāli, mās,

Hathiyā barse tīn jāṭ bā, tīl, kodo, kapās (1885:281)

'If it rains in Hathiya (=September) three things are produced: rice, sugar-cane and pulse; if it rains in Hathiya three things are destroyed: sesame, kodo, and cotton.'

Many poems eulogise tobacco as their subject, while a great many like the following teach one how to recognise the end of the rainy seasons:

bolī lukhrī, phule kās

Ab nahĩ barkha ke ās. (1885:283)

'The barking of the fox and the flowering of the grass (say that) the rains will no longer come.'

Such didactic poems are unknown in contemporary SABh, not surprisingly, since the conditions they describe no longer obtain. However rhyming verse, mostly humorous, does linger on to a diminished extent, a sampling of which can be found in the appendix.

5.7.4 Ritual Abuse: As noted in chapter four, Bhojpuri of India is stereotyped as a "rough language" or "rough person's language" by outsiders familiar with it. It is a swear-language par excellence, providing a large slice of the Indian army's repertoire of swear-words and slang. Misra (1980:167) claims that "disputes of one kind or other among people in the Bhojpuri-speaking villages are the order of the day. They lead to quarrels of various types which provides scope for the register of slang, abuse, swearing and cursing".

To abuse someone with invective language is to offer a sharp and short condemnation of him, elevated almost to the stature of a game, a ritual involving great artistry, especially amongst the lower classes. The term of abuse might take one of the following forms:

- a) an animal name is applied to the person being vilified: gadaha 'ass', sāp 'snake', kuttī 'bitch', sūar 'pig', banar 'monkey', ghorā 'horse', uliū 'owl' (known for stupidity, not the wisdom of its western counterpart) etc.
- b) an epithet suggesting the immoral behaviour of the accused is employed: cottā 'thief', lālcī 'glutton', besaram 'shameless', pāpī 'criminal', doglā 'bastard son' etc.
- c) a piece of character-assassination by phrases describing sexual abuse of the accused or his mother, sister or daughter: Misra provides the following examples: tore mai ke būr codo 'May I rape your mother', rupayā ke badle āri deb unhe 'I'll give him testicles instead of money'.

Grierson (1885:298) notes that cultivators have many terms of abuse for their cattle, a favourite one being jāh kasaiyā khūṭa 'May you go to the butcher (or the sacrificial stake)'.

Misra adds further that "in all castes, women are more abusive than men". It should be emphasised that such ritual abuse is accepted for what it is - a safety-valve for releasing pent-up frustrations; in reality the average Bhojpuriya is quite chaste, almost puritannical. All the women in a village are treated as one's sister, and promiscuity is virtually unknown.

In SABh this is one register that has remained more-or-less intact, with animal names, and epithets concerning immoral behaviour retaining their full potency. There has been, in addition, some English borrowings example sanwagan 'son-of-a-gun', dēmet 'good-for-nothing' (from damn it). For the third generation some terms though widely used, have lost much of their original force because their precise meaning is not always understood. Such generalised terms of abuse include thētar 'obstinate, stubborn', kulakchan 'signifier of ill-omen', besaram 'shameless', haramin 'illegitimate person, bastard', which are understood as terms of insult, but are devoid of some of the subtler overtones which differentiate them in Indian Bhoj.

5.7.5 Onomatopoeia:: Finally onomatopoeia, another form of word-play, which occurs extensively in Indian Bhoj (see 2.2.3c), deserves brief mention here. This playful use of language, with most items being considered 'informal', or (-R) continues in SABh to a lesser degree. The following are some instances of onomatopoeia in local use, mostly from Indian Bhoj, though one or two might be innovations of SABh speakers: cul-bul 'noisiness, naughtiness', khur-bhur 'irritating scraping noises', krang-brung 'irritating loud noises', tin-tinā 'to complain whiningly', par-parā 'to speak incessantly', phus-phusā 'to whisper', cup-cāp 'quietude', etc.

Notes.

1. I am informed that that the islands of Trinidad and Mauritius, where similar Indian communities exist, were known to the earliest migrants there as Cinī-dāl 'sugar and dāl', and Maricā 'chillies' respectively. Whether these meanings really had any validity to these speakers is hard to say.
2. Actually naartjie of Afrikaans is from Tamil nartei (Branford 1980), itself borrowed from Arabic naranj, which also becomes Spanish naranja, which gives English orange. SABh (like SAE) thus has aranjī 'orange' and nācis 'naartjie', etymologically from the same source ultimately (Perso-Arabic), with different meanings. (This lexical circle was suggested to me by Professor Lass).
3. However, according to the OED, varanda of Hindi is itself an adoption of Portuguese varanda. In SABh such is the insecurity, that the Bhoj form is automatically assumed to be based on the English: one speaker candidly professing that she had always considered Bhoj branda to be "a very crude word".
4. The form kandh is, however, attested in karkandhā 'a cow with black shoulders' (Grierson 1885:297), raising the possibility that the other SABh forms are also of dialectal occurrence in India.
5. Even namastē (literally 'I bow to you'), while accompanied by reverential hand-clasping, has lost its etymological sense in SABh.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE OBSOLESCENCE

6.1 Although most textbooks of historical linguistics mention the extinction of such languages as Gothic, Hittite, and Etruscan, not many descriptions of the actual processes of obsolescence in such instances were undertaken till the nineteen seventies. Prior to that there were isolated observations by Bloomfield (1927), and Swadesh (1948), motivated primarily by the extinction of many Amerindian languages, as well as a monograph by Coteanu¹ (1957), but it is the work of Nancy Dorian in numerous articles published in the nineteen seventies, culminating in her book Language Death - The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect, that has drawn most attention to this linguistic and sociolinguistic phenomenon in recent times. There exists today a fairly large corpus of articles in various journals dealing with aspects of dying languages, often bearing melodramatic titles: Campbell and Canger (1978) 'Chicomulcete's last throes', Haas (1968) 'The last words of Biloxi', Denison (1977) 'Language Death or Language Suicide', Dressler (1972) 'On the phonology of Language Death', Hill and Hill (1977) 'Language Death and relexification in Tlaxcalan Nahuatl', Miller (1971) 'The death of language or serendipity among the Shoshoni', Schlieben-Lange (1977) 'The Language Situation in Southern France', Breatnach (1964) 'Characteristics of Irish dialects in process of extinction' and many others.²

Even though the socio-historic setting for the loss of languages on their native soil is obviously different from that of the demise of ethnic migrant languages, very similar linguistic processes are operative in both cases (for example reduction of certain structures, generalisation of some rules, restriction of vocabulary etc). It is therefore not out of place to consider the obsolescence of SABh in the context of the research mentioned above. I shall accordingly outline a few such

case-histories before proceeding to characterise SABh as a dying language.

6.2 External histories: We can differentiate between precipitate language death that occurs when native speakers of a particular language die leaving no offspring, and a more gradual form that involves the abandonment of one language by a whole community in favour of another. The former case, where a language dies without being replaced by another, is exemplified by the fate of some Amerindian languages and of Tasmanian (Swadesh 1948). Before the arrival of British settlers in Tasmania in 1803, there were about five thousand Tasmanians; but within just thirty two years that population was reduced to 203, after conflict between settlers and natives. The surviving Tasmanians were then moved to another island, where in another twelve years their population decreased to 44. After being removed to a second island the rest of the population died from grief or disease, with the last survivor, a woman called Truganini living till 1876, a mere seventy three years after the first European settlement. She died with her own language intact, and with no knowledge of the foreigner's language - English - save for a few loanwords.

Swadesh also draws attention to the extinction of Yahí, an Amerindian language of Northern California, whose last speaker Ishi (the last survivor of the tribe) spoke "faultless" Yahí, learning to make himself understood in English only in his last years, after being taken to the University of California in 1911.

Case-histories of the second type of language death - or language shift - suggest that the external circumstances are very similar: languages on their way to extinction are first used in a near-diglossic situation with the dominant language to which they eventually lose out. The dominant language is one of wider currency, necessary for communication with a larger society than that represented by the dominated language, or is one which is recognised (tacitly or overtly) as the medium for upward mobility. The functions fulfilled by the dominated language become progressively fewer, with the home being the last domain in which it persists. Children, however, begin using the new language first among

themselves, and then to their parents or grandparents as soon as the linguistic competence of their elders permits it.

This reduced usage is usually accompanied by attenuation of linguistic structures, on account of the pervasive influence of the dominant language, which is mirrored in many instances by the diminution of the prestige of the dying language in the judgement of its own speakers. This factor, in turn only precipitates the end of the language.

Dorian uses the term 'semi-speaker' for those who have had insufficient exposure to the home language, and who, despite being far more competent in the dominant language, continue using the home language in an imperfect way. Dorian characterises the semi-speakers of the Gaelic of East Sutherland in northern Scotland as follows:

Unlike the older Gaelic-dominant bilinguals, the semi-speakers are not fully proficient in Gaelic. They speak it with varying degrees of less than full fluency, and their grammar (and usually also their phonology), is markedly aberrant in terms of the fluent-speaker norm. Semi-speakers may be distinguished from fully fluent speakers of any age by the presence of deviations in their Gaelic which are explicitly labelled "mistakes" by the fully fluent speakers. That is, the speech community is aware of many (though not all) of the deficiencies in semi-speaker speech performance. Most semi-speakers are also relatively halting in delivery or speak Gaelic in rather short bursts, or both; but it is not manner of delivery which distinguishes them, since semi-speakers of comparable grammatical ability may speak with different degrees of confidence and "fluency". At the lower end of speaker skill, semi-speakers are distinguished from near-passive bilinguals by their ability to manipulate words in sentences. Near-passive bilinguals often know a good many words and phrases, but cannot build sentences with them or alter them productively. Semi-speakers can, although the resultant sentences may be morphologically or syntactically askew to a greater or lesser extent. (1981:107)

As implied here, not every young speaker of a community undergoing a gradual process of language shift is automatically a semi-speaker. Dorian attributes the desire of some young speakers to continue with an imperfect variety where possible to the following factors:

- a) Late birth-order in a large relatively language-loyal family. In such a family the eldest might emerge as a fluent speaker, whereas the last two or three children will emerge as semi-speakers, because, although their parents might continue using Gaelic to them, the influence of elder siblings who bring back English from school is stronger.
- b) A second possible cause is strong attachment to one's grandparent(s) who usually use far more Gaelic than one's parents; though occasionally it is the influence of aunts and parents that also counts.
- c) Temporary (or sometimes permanent) exile often fosters a re-awakening of active loyalty to the dominated language, if one has fellow exiles with similar feelings.
- d) An "inordinately inquisitive and gregarious personality" (Dorian 1981: 109) might also be a factor that causes some young people to participate in conversations with elders in Gaelic.

It seems however, that not every instance of language shift produces such semi-speakers: J. Hill (quoted by Dorian 1981:115) says of the obsolescent languages of California, Luiseño and Cupeño "You either speak fairly well or not at all".

6.3 The Micro-Linguistic situation: Turning now to the actual effects of incomplete acquisition histories on linguistic performance, we find equal diversity in case studies. Dying languages as spoken by semi-speakers, and pidgins, as several writers note (Dorian 1981; Dressler and Leodolter 1977), have many features in common: in both, vocabulary is relatively restricted, inflections are generalised or simplified, and some transformations are lost. Pidgins usually display a simplified mixture of two languages used for specific purposes (usually in trade or work situations) which semi-speaker speech does to a lesser extent. Furthermore pidgins may become creolised by entering "into the primary socialisation of children... whereas dying languages cease to be utilised for primary socialisation..." (Dressler and Leodolter 1977:8)

But there are many differences between the two: Dorian, in connection with East Sutherland Gaelic, maintains that in semi-speaker speech allomorphic variety does not undergo substantial change, that word-order is unchanged, embedding handled with ease, and certain categories which have marginal or indirect semantic significance persist - none of which is suggestive of a process of pidginisation.

Dressler (1972) suggests that languages die on account of rule loss, rule simplification, and the like - a hypothesis which Denison (1977) rejects, claiming instead that languages become obsolete when speakers no longer deem it worthy to communicate with children in a low-prestige variety, and children are no longer motivated to acquire an active competence in that language. Rule loss, and other simplificatory processes do follow in such cases, but as far as Denison is concerned the "language suicide" has already occurred. He provides evidence (from German of Sauris in North East Italy, under the influence of Friulian and Standard Italian) to show that dying languages may even gain rules from languages they come in contact with. The two views seem to be but different sides of the same coin.

Mohan (1984) is in complete accord with Denison, although she does not mention him, except on the connotations of the word 'suicide'. Discussing the case of Trinidad Bhojpuri, Mohan places a question mark over when exactly a language may be said to be dead, claiming that the speech of semi-speakers is not the prelude to death, but the visible signs of an event that has already come to pass. She suggests further that the biological metaphor of death is apt in that it implies a state, not an ongoing process, that a language (in the sense of a well-generated system) dies intact and well before suggested by earlier writers on the subject:

Living languages do not die when the last trace of memory has vanished. They are actually dead much before this, but may be lent an artificial semblance of life by sympathetic post-users operating from outside the system. We speak of decay associated with language death: this decay does not come during the lifetime of the language. It comes only after the language dies, leaving behind a body as

deadweight - and even then, skill in preserving the body can prevent the visible signs of decay. What it cannot do is bring the body back to life. The few non-native post-users can only obey static laws about the system: they do not feel it enough to take normal liberties with it and move with it. The link between the system and its natural user has snapped, and life has gone. (1984:42)

At a purely theoretical level, Mohan's position seems quite correct, but insofar as semi-speakers do participate in linguistic interactions, however limited, there is something to be gained from studying their speech and attitudes, even though theirs is not L1 competence.

Irrespective of whether we view semi-speaker speech as the residue of an already dead language, or as part of the process of obsolescence, it is of interest to examine whether certain parts of the grammar of a language are most affected by this partial competence, and whether other parts are more resistant to change. Breatnach (1964) characterising Irish dialects on their way to extinction claims that the effects of disuse are evident at all stages mainly in the vocabulary, and secondarily the morphological, phonological, and syntactic patterns, while the purely phonetic character of the language resists influence to the end. However Dressler's (1972) and Dorian's (1981) work based on similarly structured languages, cognate with Irish (Breton and Scots Gaelic respectively), suggests that morphological patterning (eg. initial mutation of consonants as a signal of a change in word-class, and as inflectional marker) is as significantly affected as vocabulary in these obsolescent languages.

On the other hand, Mithun and Henry (1979) studying obsolescence of a very different type of language - Oklahoma Iroquois - find few neologisms in the vocabulary, though the lexicon does seem to shrink, with specific terms (eg. 'moose', 'beaver', 'weasel') being lost before more general terms. The breakdown of morphology is first felt not in the loss of particular productive morphemes but in an avoidance of their combination - with lexical replacements occurring instead of polysynthesis of morphemes. Phonological simplification involves reduction of the length of words, starting with the initial syllable, though the phonetic system seems generally unaffected.

6.4 SABh as an obsolescent language: In chapter 4 the main reasons for the decline of SABh were outlined, as well as current (obsolescent) patterns of speaking between different generations. The degree of acculturation to western ideals, and the low prestige value of SABh outlined there have ensured that the number of semi-speakers is quite negligible. The term 'semi-speaker' is in fact not entirely pertinent; in Dorian's sense it refers to young people who make a conscious effort to use Gaelic with their elders, even when the addressees are known to have a reasonable command of English as second language. In addition some semi-speakers of Gaelic try to converse with each other in it as well, under special conditions. As Dorian puts it "It seems perverse that a group of people whose control of ESG ... [= East Sutherland Gaelic Gaelic] ... is imperfect, and whose agemates have for the most part opted for English only, should continue to use a stigmatised language of strictly local currency when they are fully proficient speakers of a language of wider currency" (1981:107).

Although there are a number of young speakers who converse in SABh in a halting, imperfect manner, on account of incomplete acquisition at an early age or because of lack of practice, they make no special effort to cultivate the use of the language. By and large they use it only when they are forced to, usually in speaking to those few elders who lack a command of English. Where the older person understands English, but is unable to speak it, most young speakers prefer a dual-medium conversation, replying in English to the other's Bhoj. Furthermore young speakers do not converse with each other in SABh; it would be inappropriate to do so, going against the very strong local linguistic-pragmatic currents. That is to say, there is no community of semi-speakers - their 'semi-speech' arises for the nonce - pidgin-like - and then disappears till the next time.

There is another prominent feature of semi-speaker discourse, which though mentioned by Dorian (1981:110), is insufficiently stressed by her: its lack of productivity, in the sense that a semi-speaker has a specific group of elder individuals - a very small one - with whom he ventures to use the dying language, and avoids it as much as

possible in all other instances. In all probability the reason for this must be that whereas semi-speakers feel fairly comfortable speaking an imperfect variety to elders they are close to, they become self-conscious about their ability when conversing with outsiders. It might be, too, that the topics one discusses with close family make less stringent lexical demands than those that arise when conversing with strangers.

I will use the term 'semi-speaker' in this study to denote a person with a limited communicative competence in SABh, who can and does use it to communicate with some elders some of the time. It does not necessarily follow from this definition, but happens to be the case, that these speakers do not use SABh among themselves, and hardly ever to bilinguals fluent in SABh and English. That is to say, the "perversity" in the sense of the quotation from Dorian does not exist: the use of SABh by semi-speakers is functional, hardly ever 'symbolic'.

Nor do Dorian's criteria for the genesis of semi-speakers in East Sutherland Gaelic apply en bloc to the case of SABh, though this is in no way to her discredit, as she states (181:109-10) that the factors she outlines do not have total predictive power even in the community she worked in. For SABh the most important factor is undoubtedly the existence of at least one grandparent whose lack of proficiency in English ensured that a young child had direct access to Bhoj from day to day. The continued presence of a home-bound grandmother, in particular, was often the cause of a high degree of fluency, which was often counteracted by negative factors in later years, chiefly the influence of the English school. Most semi-speakers who were interviewed claimed some use of Bhoj with grandparents in their earliest years, but even more striking was the fact that in many instances they had lost their last grandparent when they were about six years old, which left little subsequent need to use Bhoj actively. In a home in which there were no grandparents, and parents did not use Bhoj directly to their children in early years, it was more likely that the children grew up to be passive bilinguals, and not semi-speakers.

It seems that if one or more grandparent was alive for a longer period into the grandchild's teens, and continually spoke to him in Bhoj, then that grandchild developed into a young fluent speaker, rather than a semi-speaker. A 'young fluent speaker' is Dorian's term for an individual who, while speaking a fluent, versatile and idiomatic Gaelic, shows some departures from the conservative norms of older fluent speakers. Such speakers do exist among users of SABh, though I have not had the opportunity to study the speech of more than three of them. Where parents spoke to children in Bhoj (and little or no English), this ensured a young fluent speaker (YFS), but if it was the grandparental generation alone that was responsible for the active transmission of Bhoj, then a semi-speaker was the more likely result. Given that most semi-speakers (henceforth SS) are a result of interactions with grandparents at an early age, who were often deceased by the time the grandchild was six years or so, one wonders whether such primarily 'baby talk' has much to do with the hesitancy, lack of confidence, and linguistic inadequacies of semi-speaker speech.

Although Dorian's next factor - late birth order in a very language-loyal family - does produce SSs, it is the converse - early birth order in an ordinary family (ie. one which is not particularly solicitous about ensuring the transmission of Bhoj to children) - that is more likely to give rise to the semi-speaking individual. In a family whose first child was born about thirty years ago, a common pattern is: 1st child YFS or SS; 2nd child: YFS or SS; 3rd child: SS; 4th child and subsequent children: Passive bilingual. Families in which children under twenty-five use more Bhoj than this tend to be poor rural ones, who have missed the march towards "progress" and modernisation until, perhaps, very recently. These families generally consist of parents with no education in English, and eldest children whose schooling was limited. The women in these households are generally home-bound, while the elder men do not hold white-collar

jobs, which might have furnished incentives for greater integration into a larger society, requiring greater loyalty to the dominant language. In these impoverished families, language-loyal more by chance than design, the eldest children tend to be fluent speakers, while the youngest usually are SSs (sometimes YFS) on account of the conflicting stimuli of Bhoj from parents and grandparents, and English from elder brothers and sisters.

Temporary or permanent exile from home does seem to have the effect of re-kindling diminishing loyalties to one's language and culture, but the number of people affected in this way is negligible. Any inspiration occasioned by prolonged absence from one's community would, in any case, prompt one to enquire about one's cultural and religious foundations - a path that leads to India, Sanskrit, and Standard Hindi, and away from SABh. Furthermore, the test of loyalty as an Indian South African after a prolonged stay abroad or in another province, is whether one returns still speaking SAIE (and not general SAE, or an accent or dialect one might have acquired abroad), rather than whether one continues with an obsolescent vernacular language of India.

This also holds for the active, enquiring sociable personality which Dorian found to produce the occasional semi-speaker. To be 'gregarious' in the larger Indian South African society would imply shedding one's ethnic language, and using SAIE (as opposed to general SAE). It is the religious-minded young person who undertakes to cultivate the vernacular language (or one interested in his own sub-ethnic affiliation as belonging to a Tamil-speaking or "Hindi-speaking" sub-group of Indian South Africans) rather than the outward-looking gregarious type. Even for these religiously-minded individuals the allure of prestigious Standard Hindi and Sanskrit neutralises any attempts at the positive cultivation of Bhoj.

These things suggest that there are virtually no SSs who use SABh

by conscious choice, and that for most imperfect speakers failure breeds failure - those who understand the language perfectly, and can string phrases and sentences together with less than natural fluency, prefer not to use the language at all.

6.5 Gathering of data: It is extremely difficult to observe semi-speakers in a natural speech setting, as the presence of outsiders often inhibits the insecure speaker's use of Bhoj, reducing it to a few monosyllabic phrases, or one-word replies. I was, in two instances, able to acquire valuable spontaneous discourse which included young speakers in a natural setting. The first involved a young student who had assisted in gathering data relating to the speech of the oldest section of the population under study, by tape-recording two half-hour sessions of spontaneous discourse in her home. Among the unwitting participants were her paternal grandmother, an aunt, and elderly neighbours; while her mother, who was privy to the job at hand, assisted in ensuring that conversation flowed smoothly. Of relevance to this chapter is the Bhoj used on tape by the student - imperfect by her own admission - who had not realised that her own speech could be equally worthy of study as that of her elders. Her speech shows the familiar semi-speaker pattern of switching between fluent English (to her mother and aunt), and a simplified, virtually pidginised form of Bhoj (to her grandmother and another aged neighbour).

I gathered a second set of valuable spontaneous SS speech patterns by noting down privately the occasional Bhoj of close relatives to elders, both in my home and theirs, in this way avoiding the inhibition that many SSs show if they are aware of their speech being scrutinised by others.

In addition a short questionnaire was administered to sixteen

individuals, all but one of whom were under the age of thirty, and who were known to speak at least some Bhoj at some stage of their lives. This was by no means a random sample, as it included many who were especially chosen because they fitted the bill - a few young relatives, whose backgrounds were well-known to me, young people from neighbourhoods familiar to me, one or two who had been singled out by other informants as being able to speak quite well, and young people from different parts of the province whom I had noted in earlier interviews with elderly fluent speakers seemed to possess more than average fluency for their age (who had to be re-interviewed).

With two exceptions these were people with no education in Hindi, and who could neither read nor write it. The questionnaire comprised recall of basic vocabulary items, often containing phonemes whose pronunciation by younger speakers was of interest, and translation exercises, ranging from short clauses, testing morphology, to larger complex sentences. Each interviewee was finally asked to narrate a short story of his own choice in "Hindi" (=Bhoj). This last exercise proved highly artificial in that none of the interviewees, except one who had been to Hindi school for two years, could recall ever narrating stories in Bhoj. It was nevertheless retained on the questionnaire, as it was a more accurate way of assessing competence in the language than simple translation, with its major pitfall of encouraging English-like utterances. Some who had performed quite well in the translation exercises - much better than they, or I, had expected - performed completely differently in the narrative section, being barely able to produce connected discourse longer than two sentences at a time.

Care had to be exercised not to make the interview too stressful to these occasional users of an imperfect variety of Bhoj: the number of recall items and sentences to be translated was kept to a minimum

while no attempts were made to force them when they hesitated. Many came to look upon the interview as a special challenge, and returned on their own to items they had unsuccessfully attempted earlier on. Prompting by the interviewer was a temptation that was generally avoided, except for an occasional lexical item which helped put the speaker at ease, and helped him avoid switching to English or giving up altogether.

6.6 The Proficiency Continuum: Four of the speakers interviewed were excluded from the analysis: two because they turned out to be YFSs, with a command of the language that showed little qualitative difference from that of second and third generation native speakers, while the other two turned out to have only passive knowledge of the language, and had never used it actively, even in childhood, despite being pointed out to me by others as having some proficiency. The skills of the other twelve ranged from a little active Bhoj, with threadbare syntax and vocabulary, to some active use showing a high degree of fluency, without reproducing the phonology and idiom of the language perfectly. However, all were united in having great passive competence, being able to follow conversations quite easily, even those directed at a fast pace to other people, and to follow humorous and religious tales, especially those in a colloquial non-brahmanical style. But there are limits to their competence: it does not extend to the decipherment of whispers, or the decoding of Bhoj speech under high-noise conditions – both of which are easily handled by these speakers for the first language, English. Nor does the semi-speaker display the same intuitive understanding of folk songs (especially those employing an archaic diction), and of the morphological forms of other dialect areas of Natal, or indeed of the occasional Indian Bhoj that reaches Natal via film and song.

A brief characterisation of some of the interviewees, giving some idea of the factors leading to the genesis of the SS, follows:

SS₄ is a fourteen year old primary schoolboy, the last born of three children, living in poor conditions on a farm. He is not doing well at school, his English in particular - a non-standard variety - seems to hold him back. Although his family claimed that he "knew Hindi" (=Bhoj), he is far from fluent, replying to his mother's Bhoj in short staccato sentences that mask his imperfect command of verb morphology and syntactic patterns, and uses English for longer discourse. His two sisters are much more fluent, and easily qualify as YFSs.

SS₁₁ is a withdrawn fourteen year old schoolgirl, living in very poor conditions in the rural Midlands. She is exceptionally fluent in Bhoj for her age; with her parents (both uneducated) using it among themselves and to her, even though they have some command of English as second language (or, possibly, third to Fanagalo). She, uncharacteristically for a teenager, uses as much Bhoj as English to them, though the variety she uses differs slightly from YFS speech in its greater analogical levelling of verb endings, and lesser use of characteristically Bhoj idiom.

SS₅ lived on a farm in a household that included her grandmother, who died when this particular grandchild was six years old. She claims to have communicated with her grandmother in Bhoj, but to have ceased active use of the language after her grandmother's death, and especially after moving to the city subsequently. Her hesitancy and aberrant morphology and idiom suggest that her command of Bhoj has declined drastically with non-use (which is not unusual for many speakers), or that she might have got by as a child with conversing with her grandmother in a highly simplified Bhoj.

SS₈ is a twenty-one year old who has always lived in the city, and

is the most fluent speaker without formal instruction in Hindi, under the age of twenty four, that I have encountered. His active command of Bhoj is due to his living next door to a grandmother who understood no English, though what is rare about him is that he continued speaking some Bhoj after the age of six, when she died, to a narrow network of old relatives. However, he has never spoken to his parents in Bhoj. Even today there are old uncles whom he addresses in Bhoj, out of respect rather than total necessity, since they have a rudimentary command of English. Although his Bhoj is quite fluent, and displays a wide range of mostly correct morphological forms, syntactic and phonological peculiarities mark off his speech as being that of a SS rather than a YFS.

6.7 Lexical and semantic characteristics: The restriction of SABh to the family domain, with mainly parents and grandparents using it to each other has had many consequences for semi-speakers and passive bilinguals. It has led to ignorance of a large number of terms which are not in habitual use at home, and in some instances to interesting semantic restrictions. The passive vocabulary of children in a dying language which is not taught in schools and which has no literature, depends entirely on the active vocabulary of elders. Because the contexts in which the language is used have become more and more limited in the last two decades, with mainly grandmothers and mothers addressing children directly in it, the child's lexicon is directly affected.

6.7.1 Semantic Change: There are instances of age-graded semantic change restricted to the youngest generation, contingent upon the lack of a wide range of contexts of use from which the full sense (or varied senses) of a word can be gauged. It is worth noting that whereas semantic change among older speakers involves shifts in sense, in narrowing of meaning as well as occasional widening of meaning,

semi-speaker semantic change involves only narrowing of meanings. Some examples follow:

- a) lapēt kar- This phrasal verb has the general sense of 'to wrap, to roll (trans), to entangle', but the only meaning I could extract from SSs was 'to make a sandwich out of rōṭī (round, flat Indian bread) and curry'. They did not think that the word could be used in any other sense, as in 'to get entangled in a fight'. This restriction of meaning is clearly due to the domestication of the language.

- b) naksān: This word has already been mentioned in the previous chapter (5.4) as undergoing semantic restriction, being used in its full Indian Bhoj sense by some speakers of 'wastage' (of energy, life, food, etc.), but being construed as referring almost exclusively to food by many third generation speakers. It is not surprising that for semi-speakers the restricted meaning has become the sole one, with all interviewees not being sure whether it could refer to, say, the death toll on the roads.

- c) bigar: This noun has the basic meaning of 'a spoiling, spoilt', with a secondary meaning of 'quarrel, enmity'. The former meaning is by far the more common in SABh, though older speakers are familiar with the second sense as well. For youngest speakers it is the first - more commonly heard - meaning which has entirely superseded the meaning of 'enmity'.

- d) ciraurī: The primary meaning of this noun is 'begging, entreating'. Because the word today most frequently occurs in the imperative sentence employed by mothers or grandmothers to troublesome child Hamke ciraurī nei kar 'Don't beg me', its primary sense amongst SSs and passive bilinguals is the narrow one of 'being troublesome', and the previously cited sentence would be understood to mean 'Don't

pester me (by begging/entreaty). Two of the twelve interviewed, however, knew both the original meaning and the SS interpretation.

e) bokala: Amongst the multiple meanings of the word in Indian Bhoj and the Bhoj of the oldest speakers in South Africa are 'strips of the bark of a tree', 'husks of grain', 'bits of skin', etc, the first meaning being the more usual. All SSs interviewed thought the only meaning to be 'bits of wood (useful in starting a fire)'. The narrowing of meaning is again attributable to the usage of mothers and grandmothers, more interested in starting domestic fires than in husks in the field. This semantic change seems to have started with some of the third generation and to have been generalised by the youngest speakers.

f) mālik: This refers to 'God' as well as 'lord' in a human sense, as for the head of an important household or for a landlord, and can be used as an epithet as well. Of the two meanings only the first is known to SSs, and even then it is more often conceived of as being an epithet expressing wonderment (as in English O Lord!) or reverence, rather than as a term for 'God'.

6.7.2 Replacement of native words by loans: Even though the speech of older third generation speakers is interspersed with loanwords from English, as outlined in the previous chapter, if pressed hard enough they are often able to recall the Bhoj equivalent used by the earliest SABh speakers and sometimes use these original words to older non-English speakers. This suggests that their passive vocabulary contains many Bhoj words which are often replaced by loanwords in active speech. As the passive vocabulary of young SSs depends on the active output of older kinsfolk at home, the result is a further attrition of their SABh vocabulary. Table 35 below gives a sample of vocabulary items that vary across the divisions 'non-English speakers', 'English-Bhoj bilinguals', and 'English-dominant semi-speakers':

<u>Terms used by non-Eng Speakers</u>	<u>Terms used by Third Gen. Bilinguals</u>	<u>Terms used by SSs</u>
<u>gājar</u> 'carrot'	<u>gājar</u> ~ <u>kāraṭ</u>	<u>kāraṭ</u>
<u>maṭṭar</u> 'peas'	<u>maṭṭar</u> ~ <u>phīz</u>	<u>phīz</u>
<u>nibbu</u> 'lemon'	<u>nibbu</u> ~ <u>lemmen</u>	<u>lemmen</u>
<u>kērā</u> 'banana'	<u>kērā</u> ~ <u>banāna</u>	<u>banāna</u>
<u>phal</u> 'fruit'	<u>phal</u> ~ <u>frūt</u>	<u>phal</u> ~ <u>frūt</u>
<u>gobhi</u> ~ <u>kābij</u> 'cabbage'	<u>kābij</u>	<u>kābij</u>
<u>murai</u> 'radish'	<u>murai</u> ~ <u>rēdis</u>	<u>rēdis</u>
<u>pothi</u> ~ <u>buk</u> 'book'	<u>buk</u>	<u>buk</u>
<u>kamīj</u> 'shirt'	<u>kamīj</u> ~ <u>śēt</u>	<u>śēt</u>
<u>sipai</u> 'police'	<u>sipai</u> ~ <u>pulīs</u>	<u>pulīs</u>
<u>bimār</u> ~ <u>sīk</u> 'sick'	<u>sīk</u>	<u>sīk</u>
<u>cā</u> 'tea'	<u>cā</u> ~ <u>ṭī</u>	<u>cā</u> ~ <u>ṭī</u>
<u>samay</u> ~ <u>tēm</u> 'time'	<u>tēm</u>	<u>tēm</u>
<u>sabūr</u> 'wait'	<u>sabūr</u> ~ <u>weit</u>	<u>weit</u>
<u>cērha</u> 'photograph'	<u>cērha</u>	<u>cērha</u> ~ <u>fōto</u>
<u>chappar</u> 'roof'	<u>chappar</u> ~ <u>rūf</u>	<u>rūf</u>
<u>āthe haptā</u> 'next week'	<u>āthe haptā</u> ~ <u>nekswīk</u>	<u>nekswīk</u>
<u>talāw</u> 'large tank'	<u>talāw</u> ~ <u>ṭhēnk</u>	<u>ṭhēnk</u>

Table 35 - Use of loanwords by SSs

6.7.3 Vocabulary loss: In chapter 5 the loss of many concepts and words in the SABh of even the most fluent living speakers, occasioned by the increasing westernisation of their life-style in Natal, was discussed. This process has been carried one step further - not surprisingly - in SS speech, with many more terms which refer to specialised concepts no longer in common colloquial use, but still a part of at least the passive knowledge of third generation speakers, becoming

unknown to young speakers. Some such terms are:

dōlā 'palanquin', jātā 'hand-grinding mill', maciyā 'small table for holding pots etc', sōṭā 'whipping stick', cunautī 'small box for carrying lime or betel-juice', taslā 'round vessel for boiling rice', gagrī 'vessel for drawing water', majurā 'agricultural servant' harai 'furrow', har jōt- 'to plough', sār 'bull', bhaīs 'buffalo', phenus 'milk of the first milking after calving', jangar 'strength', ṭhamak 'to walk with a dancing gait', akāl 'food shortage, famine', rōp- 'to cultivate', samhār- 'to support', cāl- 'to sift', jhōk- 'to fuel a fire', ṭambh- 'to stop', dhas- 'to sink', ḍās- 'to sting', dhūrḥ- 'to search, rummage', ṭāk- 'to stitch, sew', chāw- 'to cover with thatch', lūt- 'to rob', etc.

In addition SS speech is characterised by a dearth of synonyms; the shoestring lexical budget on which they operate accordingly shows a high degree of polysemy:

bahut 'much, many, too much, an abundance of' is an overworked adjective in SS speech, whereas older fluent speakers use a greater variety of near-synonyms such as dhēr 'a lot of', etanā 'so much, much', (as well as related forms otnā 'that much', ketnā 'how much, so much'), khub 'very much', barī 'a great amount of', jastī 'a large quantity of', and ekdamme 'excessively'. These near-synonyms are readily understood by SSs, but rarely used productively. In addition bahut has taken over the semantic space of kamtī 'less, a little' for them, in combination with the negative particle nahi 'not'; thus bahut nahi 'a little, not much'.

thōrā 'a little, few': The same holds for this antonym of bahut, which is much preferred in SS speech to near synonyms such as kamtī 'a little', tannī se 'a tiny bit of', and jarā se 'a little of'.

acchā: is an adjective whose denotation ranges over 'good', 'nice', 'fine', 'admirable', 'wonderful', 'pretty' and 'tasty' in semi-speaker discourse. Although the word is also of frequent occurrence in the Bhoj of older speakers, they have greater flexibility in the use of synonyms when finer distinctions of meaning are necessary. Thus the equivalent of the sentence Khānā mē sawād hē 'The food is tasty' (literally, 'In the food there is taste') is often in SS speech Khānā bahut acchā hē 'The food is very nice', which shows the avoidance of a specific content word (sawād 'taste'), in favour of a general term, as well as an English-like syntax.

khēt covers 'farm' (its basic meaning) as well as 'garden', 'orchard', 'pasture', etc. in SS speech, while synonyms of like bāg 'garden', bārī 'garden', bagaica 'orchard', and parti 'pasture, fallow land' are unknown to them.

dēkh- 'to see' in SS speech usually supersedes semantically related verbs like jhāk- 'to peep' and tāk- 'to stare'.

This trend toward polysemy, part of a larger pattern of stylistic shrinkage, is evident to a lesser extent in OFS speech as well. The following words are made to bear a high functional load even among older speakers.

aurat has the multiple meanings 'wife', 'woman', 'lady', 'female-stranger', etc even in the speech of fully fluent speakers, though, once again, certain near-synonyms like patnī 'wife', meharāru 'wife', which could be used for stylistic variation are generally missing in SS discourse.

admī 'man' is used as a general counterpart to the previous noun aurat, with meanings ranging over 'husband', 'person', 'people' (in combination with lōg), and even 'stranger' (n) for most SABh speakers.

The synonym marad is known to some SSs, but hardly ever used, while other synonyms like mardānā are generally lacking.

Likewise jāngal is used as a general term for 'jungle' (the English term is the loanword - dating back to British rule in India), as well as for 'forest', 'woods', 'bush' etc, while synonyms like ban 'forest', are in disuse.

mundī is the word for 'head' used by all SABh speakers, with near-synonyms like sir and kapar infrequent in OFS speech and virtually obsolete in SS discourse. The related term mundā 'head of a sheep or goat', however remains in all varieties of SABh.

While polysemy occurs in many languages, it seems safe to claim that it is a sufficient (but not necessary) symptom of language obsolescence. That is, all obsolescing languages in their final stages show loss of vocabulary with resultant widening of meanings of remaining items, but polysemy in itself does not imply that a language is becoming obsolete.

As one might expect, in the absence of literacy in Bhoj, terms referring to objects in the immediate environment are the ones best retained. Some instances of these are:

- a) among the many terms for 'rice' in Indian Bhoj, bhāt 'boiled rice' is best known among SSs; caur 'uncooked rice' is also known but may be erroneously replaced by bhāt, while dhān 'rice grown in the field, paddy' is unknown among SSs in this age of imported rice.
- b) terms for domestic animals, are well known: kuttā 'dog', billā 'cat', mūs 'mouse', gāī 'cow', gadahā 'donkey', bakkrā 'goat' etc; but terms for animals one does not ordinarily encounter,

even in rural Natal are known only to OFSs: bhalū 'bear', sēr 'lion', siyar 'jackal', nāki 'alligator', bāgh 'tiger', etc.

- c) Similarly the terms for domestic birds like murgā 'rooster', murgī 'hen', battak 'duck', and the word for bird in general cirai remain, but less important terms (as far as SABh speakers are concerned) like hās 'goose', mōr 'peacock', and bakula 'egret' are not known to SSs.
- d) Of the colour terms, ujjar 'white', kariya 'black' and lāl 'red' are known to all speakers while hariyal 'greenish', līl 'blue', pīlā 'yellow', gēhū 'brownish', etc were known to surprisingly few SSs.
- e) Terms like naddī 'river', samundar 'sea', and nālā 'stream' are well-known to SSs, but not talāw 'pond' or tal 'lake'.

On the other hand the retention rate of lexical items relating to domestic activities is extremely high in SS speech, as well as in the occasional utterances of passive bilinguals; with almost all the basic terms as well as many involving subtle distinctions of meaning persisting. These fall into the following categories:

- i) Activities relating to cooking and cleaning up: pak- 'to cook', khaul- 'to boil' (intrans), bhūj- 'to roast', chauk- 'to braise', sēk- 'to toast', māj- 'to cleanse lightly', kūt- 'to crush', bēl 'to roll dough', mīs- 'to crush by hand', pīs- 'to grind', sān 'to mix', chān- 'to strain', baṭōr- 'to collect', khangār- 'to rinse', khakōr- 'to scrape', dhō- 'to wash', pasār- 'to hang', bīn- 'to gather, pick out', and pōc 'to wipe'.
- ii) Household utensils and appliances: belnā 'rolling pin', handī

- 'pot', dhapnā/dhaknā 'lid', kalchūl 'ladle', tāwā 'frying pan', chalni 'sieve', channi 'tea-strainer', sūp 'winnowing sieve', chūrī 'knife', piyalī 'bowl', cimṭā 'metal thongs', cūlhā 'fireplace', jhārū 'broom', phuknī 'blow-pipe (for fire)', chauki 'rolling board',
- iii) Ingredients used in cooking: tēl 'oil', masāla 'curry powder', nīmak 'salt', hardī 'tumeric', imli 'tamarind', cinnī 'sugar', jīrā 'fennel', ghī 'clarified butter', āṭā 'flour'.
- iv) Names of vegetables and seasonings: ālū 'potato', baingan 'egg-plant', sēm (a type of bean), pīaj 'onion', lahsun 'garlic', pudīna 'mint', mēthī 'fenugreek', dhania 'coriander', saijan 'leaves of a drum-stick tree', sarsō 'mustard', kohrā 'pumpkin', phallī 'nut', laukī 'calabash', gwālin 'tiny-beans', bhindī 'okra', raharī 'pulse', sauf 'aniseed', masūr 'lentils', mircā 'chilli', cannā 'gram', tarōi (type of gourd), khīrā 'cucumber', karēlā 'a small bitter gourd', cansūr (type of cress), mūg 'chick-pea', phōran 'onion-mustard seed mix', and ilaici 'cardamon'.
- v) Names of dishes and relishes: rōṭī 'flat, round bread', pūrī 'roti-like preparation fried in oil', dāl 'split-lentil', dal-pūrī 'puri made with dāl', papar (papery-thin, round preparation of flour and rice), dal-piṭhī (meal of roti-like preparation dipped in dal), nān (round bread, closer to western varieties), bhāt 'rice', daria 'mealie-rice', khicrī 'kedgeree', biryāni (a dish of rice cooked with vegetables and/or meat), bhajia (a fried snack), tarkārī 'curry', gōs 'meat', macchī 'fish', murgī 'chicken', andā 'egg', bōṭhī 'offal', mundā 'sheep-head', gorī 'trotters', cōkhā 'mashed potatoes', bhājī 'herbs', accār 'pickles', khaṭāi (type of relish), catnī 'chutney', kocilā 'grated mango pickle', ghugurī 'fried grains', samūsa (a triangular snack), and vedḍe (a round, hot snack).

- vi) Sweetmeats and desserts: jelēbī (a very sweet snack), gulgulā 'round, small cake-like preparation', gulāb jāmun (a cylindrical sweetmeat), seō 'thin, twisted crisps', pōlī 'a snack made of grated coconut', and other sweets like barfī, laddu etc. Desserts whose names are well known include sujji, sēwai, halwā, saigo, etc.

6.8 Morphological and Syntactic Characteristics:

6.8.1 An Overview of one SS's performance: It is instructive to take a brief look at the performance of one such young speaker in a natural speech situation, with none of the three elderly participants being aware of the conversation being monitored, and the SS herself doing the taping covertly, but not conscious that her own speech could also provide useful data. It emerges clearly from the recording that the young participant (SS₆) has a very good passive command of the language, and is herself able to participate spontaneously, making a little active competence go a long way. Her speech is like that of an L₂ learner, in the second semester of study. She uses mainly short statements and questions, partly fulfilling her role as stimulator of conversation, but also because she does not seem able to handle long complex sentences with ease, or to speak more than two full sentences at a time, without breaking into English.

In the 74 sentences uttered by her intermittently throughout the two half hour 'sessions' 4 were complex, only one of which was entirely well-formed.³ Although the syntactic structures of the sentences were in order, (one conjunctive construction, one indirect question, two indirect statements) the effort to put a complex sentence together seems to result in phonetic and morphological errors: in one sentence the verb form geil was wrongly used for geilī, in the second the particle ab 'now' was wrongly substituted for its interrogative form jab 'when', while in the third two phonetic

errors occur: the loss of an initial [h], and the substitution of [b] for [b^h].

The majority of the sentences (40), were simple ones with single verbs (and no use made of 'full' (as opposed to 'local') auxiliaries). Of these, 17 used the skeletal structure: Subject + Complement + Copula (hē/rāh) as in Ū hospital mē rahāl 'He was in hospital' or Nānī ke arthritis hē 'Granny has arthritis'. Another 5 of these involved the habitual construction: Subject + Complement + Verb Stem + -e + he (Aux), for example Ōkē pensen mīle hē 'She receives a pension', while 8 more of the simple sentences were stereotyped ones using geil 'want' as full verb: tū logan cable-cars mē geil? 'Did you go on the cable-cars?'⁴

There were 16 simple questions with a verb, as for example Tū kab geil phūwa ke ghare? 'When did you go to (my) aunt's house?', while another 8 were simple verbless questions of the sort Kaun mōṭar, mousi? 'Which car, aunt?' (which are not necessarily defective, since similar verb deletion does occur to a lesser extent in informal SABh of older speakers). Of the rest, 5 were simple phrases, often comprising one, two or three words which the speaker has obvious difficulties in fleshing out: ... spring ke pānī ... 'spring water'; lāl aur beige banāras... 'red and beige "banaras" saris'.

It is neither necessary nor desirable in a short account of the Bhoj of SSs, designed as part of the larger history of the language in South Africa, to describe all aspects of their speech performance. In this section I shall focus on selected areas of syntax and morphology that give an overview of the move towards simplification, and the fluctuations inherent in SS speech. We need to divide our sample of speakers into two distinct groups for clarity; group 1 comprising six individuals who show the least fluency, and group 2 also com-

prising six individuals who are more fluent than those in group 1, but still display the SS characteristics outlined in 6.4.

6.8.2 Verb Phrase elaboration:

a) The transitive/intransitive distinction: The basic distinction between these two classes remains, with intransitive verbs taking an -l ending in the 3rd sg past, in contrast to -las/lak for transitives, though there are some individual fluctuations. The very commonly used full verb/auxiliary forms geil 'went' and ail 'came' and lagal 'felt' almost always show the correct endings, though some speakers belonging to group 1 - the less fluent group - make occasional mistakes with less common transitive verbs: *liyailak 'he brought' (for liyail) (SS₁); *girlak 'he fell' (for giral) (SS₁, SS₆), *nikarlak 'she emerged' (for nikaral) (SS₄) while SS₃ wavered between the correct -l ending and -lak on different occasions. Although SS₄ consistently used geil in the sentences he translated, he wavered between *geilak and geil in the short story narration.

The more fluent group 2 showed no such variation, except for one anomalous *girlak, and one speaker who used the -is ending throughout for both transitives and intransitives, an unusual but acceptable rule for a small number of fluent speakers in some parts of the Midlands.

b) Verb Endings: In the future and past paradigms, where there are separate endings for each person (unlike other paradigms), there is the greatest uncertainty of usage amongst group 1 speakers, with a great deal of levelling, though there is no group uniformity as to which ending is taken as the prototype. Table 36 lists the forms used by speakers of group 1, but gives a false impression of stability of usage which is not necessarily there. The same speaker might

on a different occasion produce slightly different endings, or sometimes show some fluctuations within the same conversation. SS₁, for example, in elicitation form got all three future endings correct but in full sentences levelled all three to -be.

Norm	SS ₁	SS ₂	SS ₃	SS ₄	SS ₅	SS ₆	
<u>-b</u>	* <u>-be</u>	<u>-b</u>	<u>-b</u>	<u>-b</u>	<u>-b</u>	<u>-b</u> ~ * <u>-i</u>	1st person
<u>-be</u>	<u>-be</u>	<u>-be</u>	<u>-be</u>	* <u>-b</u>	* <u>-i</u>	* <u>-i</u>	2nd person
<u>-i</u>	* <u>-be</u>	* <u>-b</u>	<u>-i</u>	* <u>-b</u>	<u>-i</u>	<u>-i</u>	3rd person

Table 36 - Future endings used by SSs in group 1

The more fluent speakers (in group 2) show no such levelling, and handled verb endings with relative ease. The patterns of usage of past transitive endings are much the same as for the future, as table 37 below suggests:

Norm	SS ₁	SS ₂	SS ₃	SS ₄	SS ₅	SS ₆	
<u>-li</u>	* <u>-lak</u>	<u>-li</u>	<u>-li</u>	<u>-li</u> ~ * <u>-las</u>	<u>-li</u>	<u>-li</u> ~ * <u>-l</u>	1st
<u>-le</u>	* <u>-lak</u>	* <u>-li</u>	<u>-le</u>	* <u>-li</u>	<u>-le</u>	* <u>-li</u> ~ * <u>-e</u>	2nd
<u>-las/-lak</u>	<u>-lak</u>	* <u>-li</u>	<u>-lak</u>	<u>-lak</u>	* <u>-i</u>	<u>-las</u>	3rd

Table 37 - Past trans. endings used by SSs in group 1

Once again group 2 speakers have no difficulty in producing the correct endings, with the single exception of SS₁₁, who used regularised -is endings throughout.

c) Aspect, Modality, and Causative Verbs: Progressive aspect (with participle forms in -t + Auxiliary), and perfective aspect (with participle forms in -le + Auxiliary) are generally well handled by both groups, as are the basic local auxiliaries like jā-, lē-, and dē-, whose meanings remain unchanged (see 2.5.4). The less-commonly occurring auxiliaries in OFS speech - dāl-, par-, and ūth- are extremely rare in SS discourse.

SS handling of modals and modal-like verbs differs only slightly from that of OFSS - mainly because, as outlined in the previous chapter, the old inflected modals of Bhoj have undergone a marked decline in SABh, and have been replaced by invariant forms from other sources. The only modal which does vary according to person and tense - sak- 'to be able' - poses problems for that reason, and seems to be on the decline in SS speech, judging from the fact that it is sometimes omitted when one expects it to be obligatorily used. An example of this is the sentence used by SS₄ Ū kaprā dhō delas 'He washed the clothes', instead of his intended meaning 'He managed to wash the clothes' (Ū kaprā dhō sakal).

Although it was not possible to study the use of causative verbs in detail, because the translation procedure using English lexical causatives proved confusing to interviewees, errors made by them in free discourse suggest that this is an area of particular difficulty: eg. *corlak 'he stole' (SS₁), for corāilak (from cōr 'thief' + causative morpheme -ā *cōr ke bhāg geil 'stole it and ran' (SS₁₂), for corā ke bhāg geil, and gārī kailas 'swore' instead of the more idiomatic garyāilas. It seems to me, though I am unable to quantify this here, that whereas 'first causatives' (see 2.5.1) do exist in SS speech (eg. banā de- 'cause to make', and turā- 'cause to break'), even though they might be often incorrectly produced, 'second causatives' (in -wā of the type 'cause X to') are extremely rare, if not obsolete, and are often paraphrased by bollas X ke 'told X to', an example of the replacement of a synthetic construction by an analytic one, for more of which see 6.8.3c below.

6.8.3 The Noun Phrase: a) Plurals with lōg or the suffix -n persist, as

do the feminine-forming suffix -īn, and most postpositions (mē, ke, par se), as well as postpositional adverbs (ke lage, ke nicche etc). In the speech of many (four from group 1, and one from group 2), the use of the postposition ke to denote animate direct objects is lacking. Instead these speakers used sentences of the sort ū baccā marlak 'he hit the baby', (with ke, after the object baccā, missing), rendering them parallel to sentences with inanimate objects eg. ū ām turlas 'he plucked mangoes'. Only one person (SS₁₀ from group 2), generalised the use of ke to (redundantly) denote both animate and inanimate objects.

b) The reflexive pronoun āpan 'one's own, self', and its oblique form apane 'by oneself' seem to be lost in SS speech, with not one interviewee using them even though there was ample opportunity for that, as the following instances of free narration illustrate:

1. jeise ū ōkar mū khollak ōkar haḍḍi girāl
 just-as he he.GEN mouth open.3sg.past he.GEN bone fall.3sg.past
 pānī mē.
 water LOC

'Just as he opened his mouth, his (own) bone fell into the water.'

2. ū ōkar chāhī dēkh ke bollak dusrā kuttā āwat hē.
 he he.GEN shadow see CONJ say.3sg.past other dog come.PP be.3sg.pres

'He saw his (own) shadow and said, "Another dog is coming".'

In both sentences *ū ōkar is an ungrammatical collocation by fluent speaker norms, the rule for Indian Bhoj being that, where two pronouns are co-referential and clause-mates, the second is replaced by the reflexive pronoun āpan (see 2.4.6).

c) Replacement of synthetic constructions by analytic ones: Where this occurs, it seems to be a reflection of the 'mind-set' of English for young speakers, who often consciously plan their utterances on English models.

i) Among the most prominent of these is the absence of the Bhoj definite marker -wā or -yā (as in chapparwā 'the - previously mentioned - roof' which has been almost totally abandoned by young speakers in favour of

the more English-like ū (distal deictic) + noun (as in ū chappar 'the roof'). One of the immediately recognisable characteristics of SS speech (together with the over-use of the co-ordinating particle aur 'and') is the preponderance of ū (and sometimes ī, the proximal deictic) as article. In OFS speech the article is unstated, except when the noun is marked as 'definite' or 'anaphoric'. In various sentences, involving either free narration or translations from English, only two speakers - SS₂ and SS₉ - used the -wā/-yā suffix, and only once each, though once again an OFS would certainly have used more. For example, SS₈, going quite rapidly, spoke as follows:

3. ...sob gōs khā lelak aur khalli haḍḍi rahal. Haḍḍi
 all meat eat 'take'3sg.past and only bone be.3sg.past bone
 ōkar dāt se pakar lelak aur bhāgal.
 he.GEN tooth ABL catch 'take'3sg.past and run.3sg.past
 'He ate up all the meat, leaving only the bone. He took the bone
 with his teeth and ran.'

An older speaker would have used haddiyā in the second sentence, with the suffix -yā being anaphoric. (He might have also used a conjunctive construction in preference over aur 'and' in the second sentence, and chosen the postposition mē instead of se, but that is not our concern here.)

Another reason for the rarity of -wā in SS speech (extending even to words in which it has become a permanent fixture eg. ekwā 'the other', literally 'one-the') is the stigmatisation of the suffix by young speakers. On two separate occasions I was (hidden) witness to two semi-speakers, whose competence bordered on that of passive-bilingualism, chastising their mothers for "over-using" this particle, because - in their words - "it sounds so crude to be using wā-wā all the time". This curious value judgement, not shared by the older fluent speakers, is probably a reflection of the prestige of Std Hn (in which -yā and -wā are not used in this way) filtering through directly via the popular Hindi film, or via the opinions of some insecure third generation speakers (see 4.5.2).⁵ It would be of interest to ascertain whether such presumption on the part of SSs and near-passive bilinguals, whose own speech is often fraught with

error and uncertainty, in passing prescriptive judgement on legitimate patterns of usage by older speakers has analogues in other language-death situations.⁶

ii) The same holds for the particle -kā, which functions in the same way as wā. but is attached to adjectives only - eg. lāl 'red', lalkā 'the red (one)'. Once again this form did not turn up in a single interview, though there was some scope for its use in the short story narration. In the same interview situation three who turned out to be YFSs made ample use of -wā/yā with nouns, and occasional use of -kā with adjectives. On the other hand, two SSs showed their lack of familiarity with the function of the -kā suffix, by wrongly substituting the definite form barkā 'the big (one)', for the unmarked form barā 'big', treating them as equivalent lexical items, instead of the former being bar- + suffix.

iii) The clitics -hi (proximal) and -hu (distal) for 'too, even' are rare in SS speech (in fact unattested in the corpus under study), with forms like ohū 'he too', ehī 'this one too', being replaced by a phrasal construction with pronoun followed by the free form phīn 'too, also' (literally 'again'), as in ū phīn 'he too'. Other synthetic forms like oise-hī 'like this too' (from ōise 'like this'), ek-hī 'even one' (from ēk 'one'), kucch-ū 'anything at all' (from kuch 'something'), ek-ād 'the other' (from ēk 'one'), ab-le 'up till now' (from ab 'now'), tab-le 'since then' (from tab 'since') are discarded in SS discourse.

d) Diminution of Compounding, Echoic, and Onomatopoetic patterns: SSs, in concentrating on the 'essential' sentence elements, often showing English influence, consistently disregard these Bhoj patterns (which are wholly different from English constructions). Compounding patterns of the dvandva type (see 2.2.3) do survive, but are often replaced by English-based co-ordinate phrases - eg. hāt aur gōr 'hands and feet' (instead of hāt-gōr), gōs aur haḍḍī 'meat and bone' (for haḍḍī-gōs) etc. Tatpuruṣa and bahuvrīhī compounds are replaced by periphrasis or by (non-compounded) synonyms.

Similarly very little use is made of the echo construction in normal SS discourse, though young speakers might sometimes use it in isolation for comic effect, and sometimes parody it in English, as in Ma, I'll go shop-wop and come back (where wop is the echo of shop, thereby stretching and blurring the boundaries of the word to mean 'shop and neighbouring places'). One reason for the decline in the use of the construction in SS Bhoj is the belief that it is "slangy-speech", devoid of any serious semantic content, as one university lecturer who had attempted to restrain her grandmother from using it in normal conversation (without success) confessed.

Other patterns like onomatopoeic play on words, partial and total reduplication (see 2.2.3c) are, in view of the problems that SSs have with more basic functional items, not surprisingly omitted altogether. It is informative to compare YFS performance in this regard: whereas compounding occurs frequently in their speech, there is a minimal amount of reduplication and echoic constructions, reflecting - perhaps - the greater functional significance of compounding.

6.8.4 Word Order: Even in SS sentences the basic pattern remains, though it is no surprise to find SSs using a higher proportion of VO clauses than fluent speakers. For example, SS₈ used 15 clauses with OV order, 2 with VO order (one SVO, the other OVS), which could pass as correct use of topicalisation, and another 4 in which the VO order is clearly inappropriate. SS₉ used 12 with OV order, 1 with topicalised VO order, and 5 VO sentences clearly modelled (inappropriately) on the English. A few examples of such inappropriate usage follow:

4. \bar{u} dekhlak dusrā kuttā.
 he see.3sg.past other dog
 'He saw another dog.'

5. $\bar{e}k$ dīn rahal $\bar{e}k$ ṭhō kuttā.
 one day be.3sg.past one CLASS dog.
 'One day there was a dog.'

6.8.5 Syntactic Loss: There is, without doubt, at least one construction

which does not occur within the (partial) competence of SSs - namely the emphatic construction outlined in 3.8.5, involving use of the verbal noun in -be, followed by some form of the verb kar- 'to do', as in ham dekhabe kailī 'I did see it'. This rule, rare in OFS speech, but by no means obsolescent, is never used by SSs, who substitute the more usual, and less emphatic, simple tense forms, as in ham dekhī 'I saw', which falls short of the emphasis of the earlier version, and may consequently show some compensation by means of extra stress on the verb, or by variations in normal intonation.

Two other constructions close to being lost in SS discourse, which once again have more stylistic than purely functional weight, are the historic present in narration and reporting, and the reduplication of present participles to convey intensity, duration, or frequency of action. Some examples taken from OFS conversations follow:

6. tā āge āge ham lōg āwat hai aur picche picche
 then front front we PL come.PP be.ipl.pres and behind behind
 bahīn āwat hē.
 sister come.PP be.3sg.pres
 'While we were (literally 'are') coming in front, my sister was (lit. 'is') following in the rear.'

7. admiyā tākat tākat, tab ail.
 man.DEF stare.PP stare.PP then come.3sg.past
 'The man stared intensely (and for long) and then came.'

These sentences give some idea of the pervasiveness of repetition as an emphatic device in fluent-speaker Bhoj, and also illustrate the use of the present participle (in 7) and present progressive (in 6) for dramatising past events. Indeed, sentence 7 describing very emotionally the intrusion of a malevolent relative into a widow's home, employs both repetition and use of the present participle. Although YFSSs have a reasonably good command of these rhetorical devices, SSs use them very rarely. In the SS corpus under study there were only two instances of repetition of the present participle, and one of the historical present. Besides being another example of influence attributable to English, this is a reflection of the fact that SSs rarely command the stage in Bhoj,

and have very little practice in prolonged, continuous discourse, that might encourage the use of these constructions.

6.8.6 Other syntactic Features: a) Use of Impersonal Dative Constructions:

Even the more fluent SSs waver in conversation between correct use of the dative subjects with impersonal verbs like lag- 'to feel', hōnā- 'to want', mālūṃ hē- 'to know', etc, and an unorthodox subject-verb arrangement without the dative marker ke (on impersonal datives see 2.6.7). For example SS₁₁ used the idiomatic hamke cōṭ lagal 'I got hurt' (literally 'to me - hurt - it felt'), but - unexpectedly - faltered on the much simpler hamke hōnā 'I want' (literally 'to me - it wants'), producing an English-like *Ham hōnā 'I want'. Table 38 records the patterns of usage of such impersonal sentences among SSs, with lower figures for the first five on account of the very short narratives they produced, which contained fewer of these constructions. Row A gives the number of times an impersonal construction was correctly used, while B gives the number of incorrect instances.

	SS ₁	SS ₂	SS ₃	SS ₄	SS ₅	SS ₆	SS ₇	SS ₈	SS ₉	SS ₁₀	SS ₁₁	SS ₁₂	Total
A	0	2	2	1	1	5	1	2	2	2	0	2	20
B	2	0	0	2	2	2	1	4	2	1	1	0	17

Table 38 - Use of impersonal constructions by SSs in free discourse.

b) The Conjunctive Construction: It is unidiomatic by fluent-speaker norms in SABh (and in most Indic languages) to use aur 'and' as sentence connector, especially if there is a causal or sequential relationship between the sentences (see 2.6.3). It is more usual to use the conjunctive particle ke 'having' to combine the two propositions, and express the first verb in stem form. SS apeech, on the other hand, is characterised by the greater use of aur 'and', and the use of finite verbs throughout.

8. \bar{u} $\bar{c}\bar{o}r$ \bar{u} $\bar{a}d\bar{m}\bar{i}$ $\bar{d}e\bar{k}h\bar{l}a\bar{k}$ $\bar{a}u\bar{r}i$ $\bar{b}h\bar{a}g$ $\bar{g}e\bar{i}l$.
 the thief the man see.3sg.past and run 'go'3sg.past
 'The thief saw the man and ran away.'

This sentence, used by SS₁, has three classic signals of the least competent of SS speech: overuse of \bar{u} as article, absence of animate accusative marker ke after admī (resulting in potential confusion between subject and object in this particular sentence), and the preference for auri as sentence co-ordinator, even though the two propositions are obviously causally linked.

Two exceptions are the the stereotyped phrases lē ke geil 'brought and came' or simply 'brought', and lē ke ail 'took and went' or simply 'took away', in which the conjunctive construction has become lexicalised, and which are better thought of as being single units. SSs do not substitute co-ordinated phrases in place of these very common items.

In table 39, Row A lists the number of conjunctive constructions used by each speaker, Row B lists the number of times sentences were conjoined using aur, when the conjunctive construction would have been more appropriate, while Row C gives a conservative estimate of the number of times sentences in temporal or causal relationship were strung together paratactically, when a conjunctive linkage of these might have been more idiomatic.⁷

	SS ₁	SS ₂	SS ₃	SS ₄	SS ₅	SS ₆	SS ₇	SS ₈	SS ₉	SS ₁₀	SS ₁₁	SS ₁₂	Total
A	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	2	11
B	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	5	4	5	0	2	21
C	1	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	11

Table 39 - Use of the Conjunctive construction among SSs.

c) Other Constructions: It would be repetitive to continue in this way for other constructions of Bhoj. We note in passing that complementat-

ion constructions generally survive intact, no doubt because the transformational procedures are relatively simple (see 2.6.4), as do both Yes/No and Wh- questions. Relative clauses, however are infrequently used by SSs, and often unidiomatically. Speakers from group 1, in particular, had great difficulty in producing appropriate relative clauses. When speakers from this group, in addition, use conditionals and temporal clauses they frequently use the wrong markers, often substituting k-words (eg kab 'when', kaun 'which?') for j- and t- words (jab, jaun, tab, taun - see 2.4.6), or if they do produce appropriate subordinate clauses, struggle with the inflections of the main verb.

Group 2 speakers, who display a reasonable ability at translating temporals, conditionals, and (to a lesser extent) relatives, nevertheless show an inability to use them in spontaneous conversation, relying heavily on parataxis instead, with a preponderance of 'crutches', such as aur 'and', and tab 'then', used to connect simple sentences loosely.

6.9 Phonetic Characteristics: In comparison with other facets of the grammar, SS phonetic realisations are the least affected by the overall language atrophy. Characteristically Indic features like retroflexion, aspiration, murmur, and the basic vowel and consonant system of third generation fluent speakers remain. The kind of basic merger of retroflex and dental stops into one (alveolar) series that one finds in Trinidad Bhojpuri, for example, does not occur (see Ramesar 1978).

6.9.1 Aspiration and Murmur: The distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants, and murmured and non-murmured (voiced) consonants remains in SS speech, with, however, some significant departures from OFS norms. Voiceless aspirates seem to fare better than their murmured counterparts, while both aspirates and murmured consonants are more often realised in word-initial position than elsewhere.

a) **Aspiration:** In word-initial position all nine SSs interviewed produced initial [p^h] and [k^h] in citation forms - eg. in phūā 'paternal aunt', phaṭal 'torn', khānā 'food', and khub 'a lot, much'. The dental

aspirate [tʰ] was correctly produced by eight interviewees, with one fluctuating between [tʰ] and [t̪]. Similarly [tʃʰ] was produced by eight SSs, with one tending to use [tʃ] in its place. Although all nine produced /tʰ/ as an aspirate, one produced it with alveolar articulation, with only slightly stronger aspiration than English initial [tʰ] while another two produced an initial retroflex [ɖ] with similar weak aspiration.

In medial position there is greater fluctuation, with some words retaining medial aspirates better than others. For example, the word acchā 'good, fine', a word frequently used by SSs, almost always has a medial aspirate [tʃʰ], whereas picche 'behind' shows less frequent retention of medial aspiration, and pōcchī 'tail' hardly ever shows it. Individual speakers waver between different pronunciations on different occasions, as is witnessed by three different realisations of the word patthar 'stone', by the same SS during different parts of an interview: [patt̪ar], [patt̪ʰar], and [pʰatt̪ar]. Dressler (1972) calls such differential loss of a phone, surviving in some words but not others, 'lexical fading'. Like its opposite 'lexical diffusion', it is a mechanism that operates in phonological change within non-obsolescing languages as well.

In citation forms medial [kʰ] was best retained, with all nine interviewees producing it in ākhi 'eye', dekhli 'I saw', and makkhi 'a fly'. In connected discourse two of these were observed to substitute [kk] for [kʰ]. The phone [tʰ] was used by 7 SSs in the word patthar 'stone', with 1 replacing it by [tt̪], and another fluctuating between these two pronunciations. Medial [tʰ] was retained by 4 of 7 SSs interviewed, in pithī 'back' (n), and mitthā 'sweet', though 3 consistently turned [tʰ] into [t̪]. Medial [tʃʰ] in picche 'behind' was retained by 4 of 7 SSs, while 3 showed loss of aspiration here. In the word pōcchī 'tail', 2 of 7 showed use of medial [tʃʰ], the remaining 5 using [tʃ]; though all 7 retained the aspiration on the frequently-occurring word acchā 'fine, nice, good'. Medial [pʰ] does not occur in SS speech, having already become [ɸ] in the speech of most second and third generation members (see 5.3.1).

In word-final position, aspiration, where it does occur, is extremely weak (which is true to a lesser extent of all speakers - not just SSs). The presence of aspiration is often detectable by release of the stop or affricate, as against the non-release of other non-aspirated final stops. The use of [p^h] and [tʃ^h] could not be tested on account of their extreme rarity in SS (and even third generation) speech. [t̪^h] showed the highest rate of retention, occurring 8 out of a possible 9 times in the word hāth 'hand'. [k^h] in bhūkh was used by 5 of 8 interviewees, the rest using [k], while 4 of 8 used [k^h] in līkh 'to write', the rest again using [k]. Similarly 4 of 8 used final [t̪^h] in jēth 'husband's elder brother', the other 4 used [t̪]. For the word jhūth 'lie', aspiration was retained by 5, while 3 used [t̪].

The 3 who used [k] in bhūkh 'hunger', and [t̪] in jēth 'husband's elder brother' correctly pronounced the aspirates in related words having them in medial position - bhukhail 'hungry', and jethānī 'husband's elder brother's wife'.

b) Murmured Stops: Just as [p^h] and [k^h] were, in our limited corpus, the best retained voiceless aspirates in initial position, so were [b^h] and [g^h] the murmured consonants that were fully realised here. All 9 speakers pronounced them in the words bhēra 'ram', bhāi 'brother', and ghar 'house'. The other murmured consonants also show a high rate of retention in initial position, with occasional variations. [d̪^h] in dhō- 'to wash' occurred in all nine instances, but in dhōtī 'loin-cloth', 2 speakers used a plain alveolar [d]. [dʒ^h] in jhandā 'flag' and jhār 'sweep' was used by 8 of 9 speakers, while one used [dʒ] instead. [d̪^h] was retained in 8 instances in dhīl 'louse' and dhapna 'lid of a pot', though one speaker used [d̪] here.

The intensity of the murmur is much weaker than that displayed by older Bhoj-dominant speakers, for whom the murmur often extends into following vowels as well. The /dʒ^h/ of SSs is often devoiced with aspiration.

Medial [b^h] in abhi 'now', was produced by only 1 speaker of 8, the rest

substituting [bb], while all four of the latter group who were re-interviewed later to check that this was not restricted to abhi alone, produced [bb] in sabhan 'all the people, they'. This change brings [b^h] in line with [p^h], which also does not occur medially. Medial [d^h] was used by 2 of 8 interviewees in adha 'half', while four showed [d^h] > [dd], and another 2 produced the anomalous [ɦa:d̪a]. Medial [dz^h] in sanjha 'evening' was reduced to [dz̪] by 5 of 8 SSs, only three retaining a weakened murmur. [g^h] in sugghar 'beautiful' was similarly produced as [gg] by 5 of 8 SSs, whilst the rest showed retention of the murmur. Medial /q^h/ is discussed under [ɽ^h] below.

Murmured consonants are extremely rare in final position in SS speech, and indeed even in the Bhoj of India. It was not possible to find words known to SSs containing [q^h], [dz^h], and [g^h] in final position. In this position [b^h] and [d^h] persist precariously, more often as fully released voiced stops, rather than as murmured ones. Two of eight produced [b^h] as noticeably different from [b], but all the others produced a [b] in place of [b^h] in the word jibh 'tongue'. Similarly [d] was the more frequent final consonant in bāndh 'to tie, wrap', being produced by 6 of 8 speakers, the remaining 2 approximating a [d^h].

6.9.2 The murmured sonorants: In 5.3.3 the paucity of SABh words containing the phonemes /m^h/, /n^h/, /ɳ^h/, /l^h/, and /r^h/ - a mere eight or so - was pointed out. Of these words only one has survived with the murmur intact in SS speech - the word mhēndi (a type of tree, whose leaves are used in extracting paste). The others all show [l^h] > [ll], [n^h] > [nn], [ɳ^h] > [n], (with [r^h] already lost in third generation speech). Quite unexpectedly, however, new forms have arisen in SS speech containing [l^h], [m^h], and [r^h], on account of syllable re-adjustment accompanying the loss of medial /ɦ/ (discussed further in 8.9.3 below).

The [ɽ] and [ɽ^h] allophones of /q/ and /q^h/, which can be found in several words extant in SS discourse, have undergone some change. [ɽ] almost always occurs as [ɹ], a voiced alveolar approximant. Members of group 1, the less competent group, showed a complete absence of [ɽ]

whereas members of group 2 wavered between both pronunciations, no one speaker using one sound alone. Of 8 people tested on the pronunciation of pahār 'hill, mountain', barā 'big', karā 'hard', and bhērā 'ram' there was uniformly a 25% retention rate of [ɾ], and a 75% change to [ɹ], though it wasn't the same speakers who used [ɾ] all the time.

[ɾ^h] as in pirha 'stool', and carhal 'he climbed' is also most often changed to [ɹ]. Seven of eight interviewees showed this change, with one speaker using [ɾ] in both instances.

In actual discourse there is greater fluctuation than suggested by these citation forms. De-aspiration and absence of murmur often occur in SS speech, on account of the influence of neighbouring sounds, or because phonetic accuracy, like morphological correctness, falters in (relatively) prolonged discourse. Thus forms like [ko:l] for [k^ho:l] 'to open', [kara:b] for [k^hara:b] 'bad', [beil] for [b^heil] 'happened', and [gar] for [g^har] 'house' were recorded in spontaneous discourse, though even the least competent SSs habitually get them right in citation forms, and in short isolated sentences. The reverse process, replacement of a consonant by its aspirated or murmured counterpart also occurs in fast speech, but less commonly, as in [b^handar] for [bandar] 'monkey', and [tʃ^ho:r] for [tʃo:r] 'thief'.

Furthermore in fast speech (though this is a relative term for SSs), the aspiration on consonants (and medial [h], on which see 8.9.3 below), proves highly mobile. I have noted [p^hattar] for [patt^har], [kat^hi:n] for [k^hati:n] 'for the sake of', and [p^hi:ɽi:] for [pi:ɽ^hi:] 'back' (n), even though the original pronunciations always surface in citation forms and indeed, on many occasions, even in continuous speech. Such 'slips of the tongue' are not noticeable in OFS speech.

Mobility of the murmur accompanying voiced consonants also occurs, in both fast speech and citation forms. Pirha 'stool' is usually pronounced as [p^hi:ro] by SSs even in isolation, while ādha 'half' usually retains the medial [d^h] in careful citation, but in fast speech and unguarded

moments (as in a one-word reply to an older speaker) almost always [h̃o:d̃]. Likewise jaghā 'place' is often pronounced by SSs as [dʒ^{h̃}aga:].

Words having more than one aspirate or murmured consonant are rare in modern Indic languages, on account of an old Indo-European rule (Grassman's Law), which states that the first of two aspirates/murmured consonants in the same syllable or in successive syllables loses its aspiration.

6.9.3 Medial /h̃/: Unlike final /h̃/, which was lost even in third generation fluent speech, and initial /h̃/, which is relatively stable, medial /h̃/ in SS discourse shows great instability. In most instances it is dropped, even in elicited forms, especially if it is part of the least stressed syllable of trisyllabic words. Most often the entire syllable is lost, with some compensation by making an initial stop into an aspirate and with some vowel lengthening. Thus dulahā 'bridegroom' which in OFS speech [dula^{h̃}ha:] is always reduced to two syllables by SSs, 7 of 8 producing [d^{h̃}ula:], and one producing the equally complex [dul^{h̃}u:] with a medial murmured consonant. Likewise dulahin 'bride' ([dula^{h̃}hain] in OFS speech) was pronounced as [d^{h̃}ulein] by 6 of 8 SSs, [dulein] by one, and [dul^{h̃}ein] by another. The word kaṭahār 'jack-fruit' ([kaṭa^{h̃}ha:r] in OFS speech) was known to only 4 of 8 SSs interviewed, 2 of whom pronounced it as [k^{h̃}ata:r], 1 as [kaṭṭa:r] and the other as [kaṭ^{h̃}a:r].

Medial [h̃] fares slightly better in bisyllabic words. The word bahut 'much' showed retention of the medial [h̃] 5 out of 8 times in citation forms, though for 3 SSs the only pronunciation was [b^{h̃}aut], a monosyllabic form showing the mobility of medial [h̃]. In another frequently occurring word the copula rahal 'he was', the full pronunciation [ra^{h̃}hal] or [ra^{h̃}hal] was retained by 5 of 8 SSs, with 3 alternating between [ra:l] and [r^{h̃}a:l]. The word pahar 'mountain' was [pa^{h̃}har] (the same as the OFS pronunciation except for the final consonant) for 4 SSs, while another 4 realised it as [p^{h̃}a:r].

However some bisyllabic words (for example sahūr 'ability', and lōhā 'iron') show no such mobility of [h̃]. The loss of unstressed medial

syllables, and consequent movement of [h̃] has resulted in unusual initial consonants in several instances: [r^{h̃}a:l] from [raɦal] 'he was', [l^{h̃}a:ɳa:] from [laɦa:ɳa:] 'woman's under-skirt', [m^{h̃}a:k] from [maɦak] 'fragrance', [r^{h̃}a:ri:] from [raɦari:] 'oil-dal', and [m^{h̃}a:ɳa:] from [maɦaɳa] 'expensive', even though initial murmured sonorants do not occur in Indian Bhoj or the SABh of OFSs. It must be said that these are alternatives to pronunciations containing no aspiration/murmur at all, or to occasional reproduction of OFS norms. Thus a SS who uses a form like [r^{h̃}a:ri] 'oil-dal' is also likely to have in his repertoire the alternative forms [raɦari:] and [ra:ri].

Such divergences from fluent speaker norms rarely cause confusion. For example, even though the change of medial [r^{h̃}] might cause carhal 'he climbed' to become homophonous with caral 'he grazed', context usually makes the intended meaning clear, and older speakers are generally tolerant of SS pronunciation.

6.9.4 Nasal Vowels: In SS speech no contrastive pairs of words involving nasality of vowels as sole distinctive feature occur, chiefly because of lexical loss. However, nasal vowels still have marginal status in their speech, persisting in some words for some speakers. The frequently occurring plural 'human' or 'human-like' marker lōg showed retention of the nasal vowel in the speech of 7 of 11 SSs, but the retention rate in other words is considerably lower: only 2 of 9 speakers nasalised the vowel in akhi 'eye', and only one in six in the word bat 'to distribute'.

Notes

1. Cited by Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977).
2. Two issues of the International Journal of the Sociology of Language have been devoted to this topic: No 12 of 1977, which I refer to several times in this chapter bears the title 'Language Death', while No 25 of 1980 has 'Language Maintenance and Language Shift' as its special theme.
3. These 4 complex sentences were: a) ham lē ke geil...vet 'I took it and went to the vet', b) ketnā baris hō geil ab tū logan geil? 'How many years have passed since you last went?', c) Amke khalli mālum hē ēk accident hyā beil 'I only know that an accident occurred here - near the sea', d) bollas accha hō jai 'She said that he would recuperate'. Only d) is error-free.
4. In this sentence as well as the next, the verb form is incorrect - the 2nd person past form being geile.
5. Another reason is that in some contexts -wā/-yā is used in a 'familiar' 'playful', even 'contemptuous' way. This is particularly true of vocatives - eg. bhaiyā 'brother', maiya 'mother', and Mirwā 'Meera' (a proper name) all carry greater informality and, depending on context, either jocularly with anger. SSs confuse this usage with the more commonly occurring 'definite' or 'anaphoric' function.
6. Professor Lass informs me that a similar situation occurs among some Yiddish-speaking sections in the United States, with second generation Yiddish speakers criticising their elders for using native forms instead of some English loans - eg. 'Don't say fenster say winder' ...[from English window]... 'You sound like a greenhorn' (where greenhorn = 'new immigrant, ignoramus', and the sentence is spoken in Yiddish).
7. No data is available for SS₇ here.

APPENDIX 1 - A SAMPLE OF INDIAN BHOJPURI

The following story (from Grierson 1903:223) is an example of the Bhoj of the district of Saran in Bihar, which Grierson classifies as "South Standard" (and which I call 'Eastern Bhoj').

Ēgō siār rahalē. Ēgō gāē rakhalē rahalē. Tā unkar jāt lōg puchal
'ē bhāī, kaisē moṭāil bārā?' Kahalan kī, 'ham phajire kā bēra mūh dhōilē
ēk gāl rōjō ākar cabāilē, Gangājī ke pānī ēk ciruā pīlē, dāt bhaharā
gail. Siār lōg kahālē ki, 'dāt hamār tūr dihalan. Calā codanikarō
kē mārī. Gail lōg. Tō nā bhēṭāil. Ōkar jatiā gaiē ke muā dihalē.

(There was once a jackal who kept a cow (and lived upon its milk). Then the other jackals, his caste-fellows, asked him 'O, brother, how have you got so fat?' He replied, 'every morning I wash my face. Every day I also chew a mouthful of gravel. and drink a mouthful of (holy) Ganges water. The result is that my teeth have all dropped out.' The other jackals said, 'this fellow has broken our teeth.* Come let us kill the vile one.' They went (to look for him), but could not find him. So the jackals, his caste-fellows, killed the cow.)

Grierson's commentary is as follows: 'The jackal is chaffing them. His tribe is notorious for impiety. He pretends that he has got so fat, not by drinking the milk of the cow, but by pious practices. He lives upon the purest food, and as he no longer requires to eat flesh, his teeth have dropped out as useless incumbrances. The absence of his teeth he puts forth as an additional proof of his piety.'

*An English equivalent of 'this fellow has broken our teeth' is 'he is pulling our leg'.

APPENDIX 2 - A SAMPLE OF AWADHI

Grierson (1904:76) is also the source for the following specimen of Awadhi of the district of Partabgarh.

Ēk ahīr kē gharē mā cār manāī, larikā, sās, patōh, aur bāp, rahat rahē. Mulā cāryū bahir rahē. Beṭaunā ēk din khētē mā har jōtat rahā au ohī ōrī sē dui rāhī calā āwat rahē. Wai beṭaunā sē guharāi kai pūchin ki, 'ham Rām-nagar kā jāwā cāhit ahai. Kaunī ḍagar sē jāī?' Tau ū ahirawā jānis ki 'hamarē baradhawan kā pūchat ahai ki "becabya?"' Au goharāi kai kahis ki 'baradhawan kā ham na becabai.' Yahi par rastā-gīrai guharāi kai kahin ki, 'ham ka bail na cāhī rahyā, jau jānat huā tau lakhāi dyā.' Tau ū jānis ke, 'sau rupaiyā baradhawan kai lagāwat ahai,' au guharāis ki 'sau rupaiyā kāw; jau duyū sau dētyō tabhū ham āpan baradhawan tuhai na dēit.' Kachuk bēr mā ohkai mahatārī rōṭī wahi kē barē lauī. Ruṭyā khātī-bērā beṭauna bōlā, 'māī hō, āj dui manāī baradhawan kai sau rupaiyā dēt rahē, mulā ham kahā ki, "dui sau kā ham na dēbai. Sau rupaiyā kaun cīj ātai.'" Mahataryā bōlī ki, 'hā, baccā, hamhū jānit hai ki sāgē mā lōn āj sewāi hui gawā ahai, mulā jaun kuch hōi tanī-tunī aiṣin khāilyā.' Lauṭ kai jab gharē āi tau patohiyā sē kahis ki, 'lōn sāgē mā as sewāi kai dihē ki beṭaunā sē rōṭī nāhī khāi gai.' Tau ū kahis ki 'bāsan dai kai māī mīṭhāī kab lihyō raha? Dādā jaun duārē par baiṭh rahat hai, calā, tin sē hajurāi dēī.' Dūnau jhagarat jhagarat jau duārē par āi tō patohiyā sasur sē bōlī ki, 'ka hō tū hamaī bāsan dai kai mīṭhāī lēt kab dēkhē rahyā?' Tau sasurawā bōlā ki, 'Gōru carāwai tau tū jā, au lāṭhī ham sē pūchbyā?'

(In a cowherd's house there lived four persons - the son, the mother-in-law, the daughter-in-law, and the father, all of whom were deaf. While the son was one day ploughing in his field there passed that way two travellers. They called to the young fellow and said, 'we want to go to Ramnagar. What road should we take?' The cowherd thought that they were enquiring about his bullocks and wanted to know if he would sell them; so he called out to them, 'my oxen are not for sale.' To this they replied, 'we don't want your bullocks, but show us the way if you know it.' He thought that they were offering him a hundred rupees for them, so he replied, 'what are a hundred rupees? I would not give them for two hundred.' After a while his mother brought his midday meal, and while he was eating it the boy said to her, 'two men offered me a hundred rupees for the bullocks today, but I told them that I would not sell them for two hundred, not to say one hundred.' The mother replied, 'yes my boy, I know there is too much salt in the vegetables today, but make the best of it, and take as much as you can of it.' When she came back to the house, she said to the daughter-in-law, 'you put so much salt in the vegetables that my son could not eat his meal.' The daughter-in-law replied, 'when did I buy sweetmeats for cooking-pots?' Come I shall have my words borne out by my father-in-law, who always sits in the doorway of the house.' So the two of them, scolding each other, went to the house door-way, where the daughter-in-law said, 'O father-in-law, when did you see me taking sweetmeats in exchange for cooking-pots?' He replied 'it's your business to graze the cattle, why are you asking me for the stick?')

APPENDIX 3 - SAMPLES OF SOUTH AFRICAN BHOJPURI

a) An old fluent female speaker. (The speaker, said to be 104 years old at the time of the interview, is one of the few SABh speakers born in India. Her speech however, is closer to that of other SABh speakers, rather than to that of the district of her birth, Azamgarh. She came to Natal, as she explains, at the age of six or so. She has a command of Fanagalo, and a passive knowledge of English, being able to speak but a few phrases. Hers is an example of the Midland variety of SABh.)

Hamar janam India mē rahal, Ajamgarh mē. Hamar bap khēti ke kām karat rahā...jate rahī, na?... aur sānj ke āte. Hamar bāp nahi hya āyā,...ū gujar gis Ajamgarh mē.

Hamar māī jāt rahin, tīn aure aurat sanghe ṭaun ke. Nei malum, kuch lēwe jāt rahin. Ham to ghare rahā. Tā ek ṭhagwā taun ṭhagat lage, bole kauno caur klīn karnā, kauno dāl, aur sōb groseri klin kare ke, acchā darmahā-paisā milī. Tā phir kal ke aona - eise mānge. Tā ek bōle hā, ek bole nahi, ōhi mē ū lōg apne mē salah kihin. Tā bole, 'kuch nei, sanjhawā mē ham lōg thōrā kar lēb, kal ke ā ke kar di,...acchā paisā milī.

Tā phir, hamar māī kā karis....choṭā chokrā rahā... ghar ke lage ke. Uske dhaurais, bōle jā ke chokrī ke liawe ke. Tā hamke liyail, aur ek chokrā, āpan bahin ke, nei malum, bhāī ke?

Wahā - jahā ī lōg cāur-ōr binī, hwā se ab hamar māī lōgan bōle, 'dekhā, sānj hō geil - ham jā he. Kab se ham kām karat hē? Ketnā bōn hē? Ū admī bōle abhi sabūr kare ke. Thōrā ṭēm mē bas ghar mē lē geil, uṭhāi ke rakhe ke, ta ū admī cābi dāl dihis. Cābi dāl deilā, tab ī lōg ghar mē cilāh hē, kuārī ṭōkhe, ...ū admī lōg anse nei karis. Akhā rāt, ī lōg ōhū mē chaptiail. Bihān bhaile... tā ū lōg kewari khōl ke ghusin hē. ī lōgan ke pakarle gōr se, ...chorē nei, aur hamū lōg cilhāi, aur hamū lōg ke pakar lēi. Dusr rūm rahe; ū rūm mē lē jā ke, ū lōgan ke dāl ke cābi dāl dihis. Haptā ke nagic rahal, ū rum mē phin nei khōle. Jetanā admī, otanā ghūse rahat.....

Ta weise, ham lōg ke jahāj milā, baiṭhāi, ab ī lōg ke kapaṭ mare, ghare le jā he. Jahāj mē baiṭhā ke lē ke geyā hē....Ek bhāī rahā - tō ōhi chuṭ geil... bāp ke sanghe rahal. Tā oke kā mālum hē kē ṭhagle hamke?

Tā hya gōra... Dacēra, ai ke ham lōgan ke Greytown lē calal. Hamar māī okar kicin me hanḍi-bartan dhōwis....das silin mahinā ke milat rahe, khānā milat rahe. Hamar māī dusre Kalkatiā lōg sanghe kicin mē rahī...

(I was born in India, in Azamgarh. My father used to do agricultural work - he would go (by morning) and return in the evening. My father didn't come to South Africa - he (must have) died in Azamgarh.

My mother was going with three other women to town. They were going to buy something - I'm not sure where exactly, since I was at home at the time. Then a crook - the sort who recruited people - said to them, 'why don't you take a job, for which you will be well-paid? Some of you can clean rice, some dal, and others groceries. And you can come again tomorrow' - that's what they said. So the women debated it amongst themselves, some saying 'yes', others saying 'no'. Then they decided that they would do a little till the evening, and return the next day to do more in order to earn a good wage.

Then what my mother did was to send a boy who lived near my house, telling him to go and fetch me. So he came and brought me, and another boy, his brother's or sister's son, I can't remember which.

After I got there, and they had cleaned rice and things, my mother said, 'Look here, evening has come, we've been working a long time, and are now leaving. How much is our pay? Then the men said, 'Wait a bit....and they swiftly took them into a building - carried them there - and locked them in. The women began screaming and banging on the doors, but those men would not answer. These people were held captive the entire night in that place. In the morning the recruiters opened the door and entered. They caught them by their feet, and wouldn't let them free. When we screamed, they caught us too. They took them to another room and locked them in, where they had to remain for close onto a week. They would bring in more people, squeeze them in, and go away.

That's how it happened... a ship arrived for us. And they deceived us into thinking that they were returning us to our homes. They seated us on ship and took us away. I had a brother, who was left behind. He had gone with his father - what did he know of our plight.

Then here a white man, a Dutchman came and took us to Greytown. My mother used to wash dishes and so forth in his family's kitchen. She used to get ten shillings a month, plus food. She used to sit in the kitchen in her spare time, together with the other Kalkatias.)

b) An old fluent male speaker. (This speaker was reportedly in his nineties at the time of the interview. Although he was born in Natal, his speech and life-style are those of the earliest migrants. He neither speaks nor understands English, but is fluent in Zulu. His speech shows a Bhoj and Awadhi base, with influences from Hindi. Snatches from his reminiscences, which ranged over diverse topics, are given here.)

....Hamar bāp kām karat rahal, patthar mārāt rahal. Ham lōg to main mē sab patthar bināt rahā....thōrā khēt korī. Parhe-orhe to nei. Ham lōg Angrējī bāt samuj nei pai, bāt nei kar pai....Koile-main mē ham lōg eise patthar binī, ī sab khun nikre. Ēk mahinā - thirty days ke - ēk rān dēt rahā. Aur khānā - caur, dāl, sob dēt rahā.

....Ham lōg ke tēm bahut acchā rahal. Ham lōg ke bahut dukh uṭhayā, baki bahut acchā rahā. Ham lōg ke kaprā nei mālum - sāk orh ke sutāt rahā. I tēm dēkhō, bahut hē, bas nei....daliddar. Rōj etanā liāw, yē hōnā, ū hōnā, khalās. Āj ke rōje gōs-macchi. Ham lōg ke mirchā rahe, dāl hē, ālu thōra pakai dēb, pēt bhar ke....gōs nahi, kabhi mahinā mē ēk tēm. Āj ke bacchā bina gōs nei khāi.

....Āj Gānhi sab ēk banā gayā. India mē sab panc baṭōr ke; bole nei, ū garīb admī hē, sarkār khānā dēnā, buk dēnā sab... sōb ke parhaunā. Panc mē kuch sidē bāt kari...Ū admī thōra rahā, ū to bhagwan rahā. India mē, ham dēkhā nei... ī gōre lōg bahut kuch kare hē; oke bandh kare, acchā ghar banāi ke. Band kar diye, sab bagal se, sab bare bare gett rahe.... Ta Gānhi nikar ke bahar bahar ghūmat hē. Tab gōrā ke hāl milāl - ī to admī nei hē, ī to admī ke rūp dēkhā hē.....Gānhi phin āi, dekhabe - anjōr hō jāi, Āj to duniyā galīj khallī,... kaljūg mē hē.....

(My father used to work (in the mines), he used to break rocks. We used to gather up stones too....and do some weeding. We were illiterate. We couldn't understand any English or speak it. We used to work with rocks on the mines till our fingers bled. For one month they would give us one rand, and food - rice, dal, and other things.

Those were good times. We had to face a lot of sorrow, but those were good times. We didn't know what was good clothing - we used to wrap ourselves with sacks and sleep. Look at things today, there is plenty, but not enough for the greedy. They want lots of everything, every day. Today everyone eats flesh. We made do with chillies, dal, potatoes, and were contented with them. We hardly ate meat, perhaps once a month.

....Gandhi made India one nation. He gathered all the people, saying "These are poor people, the government must provide for them, supply them with books, and educate everyone". He used to talk sense in public....He wasn't a man, he was a God. In India (though I haven't been there), these white men did a lot of things to him. They built a huge building and

locked him in. They closed it in on all sides with huge gates. But Gandhi came out and began walking around. Then they came to the realisation; this wasn't a man, this was the appearance of a man....Gandhi will come again, you'll see - there will be light again. Today's world is decadent - it is in kaliyug.....)

c) A third generation speaker: The following narrative is by a sixty year old female speaker of the Coastal Bhoj dialect, and her speech is more typical of SABh of today than the previous two. The great fluctuation in verb -endings in this narrative is, however, quite unusual.

Parbati aur Siwji

Ēk buḍḍhā aur buḍḍhī rahal. Ōke baccā nei rahal. Tā ū lōg ke bahut worry me hō geil-"ham log ke baccā-occā nei hē, ī ghar-or kaun lēī?" Tā ū kā karis, ū ghar mē sob angār ḍāl dihis. Sab jarā-urā ke aur sob cij peisā-weisā, dhan-daulat sab chōr delak. Aur jai ke, jangal mē geil, dūnō jane. Jangal mē jā ke, ū lōg barī roāt hē. Tā jetnā pattā pēr mē rahal, sab pattā gir geil nicce.

Ōkar picche ab Parbati aur Siwji rastā mē āwat rahal. Baki Siwji ke mālum rahal ki sab cij ke kā mahima hē. Tā Parbati bōle, 'ī rastā calna.' Tā Siwji bōle 'Nei, ham nei jaib.' Parbati bōle 'Nei'. Tā mātā ke thōra ḍar rahal, nei - Siwji ke bhi. Tā bōle acchā. Jab Siwji uha rastā geil, jāi ke pucche he "kā tū lōg ke etanā dukh hē, ki tū lōgan ke etanā roe se, sab pattā gir geil hē? Kā dukh hē?" Aur ī lōgan kuch nei bōlat hē. Siwji tīn tēm pūchlas. Tā bollak "jō ham kuch māngab, tū hamke dē sake hē?" Tā Siwji bollak, "hā, ham dē sakī". Tā bolle, "dēkhō, hamare pās dhan-daulat bahut rahal, baki baccan nei hē. Tā ū sabab se ham lōgan sab cij jarā-orā ke, ā ke, ban me beith geil hē. Hamare pās baccan nei hē, aur ham lōg ke baccan hōnā".

Siwji bolle acchā. Ab kā karnā, ū tō jaban dē dēle hē. Tā hwā geil, Biśnu bhagwān ke lage, aur sōb cij bōl delas. Biśnu bhagwān bōle "ō lōg ke karam mē baccā nei hē, ham kā karnā?" Tā Siwji bōle "nei, Biśnu bhagwān, ab keiso bhī tū hamar bacān pūrā karnā".

Jaun Biśnu bhagwān ke barā kām karewāla rahal, ōse bhagwān jā ke bolis ke dēkh, tū cal jā hwā jā ke janam lē ke aur Siwji ke bāt-bacān pūrā kar dēnā. ī aḍmī bōle "nei, ham nei jaib mritlok mē, ham nei jaib - bahut dukh hē hwā par". Bhagwān bōle 'nei, tū jānā thōra dīn, barā baris khallī rahanā, barā baris hō jāī, ōkar picche tū hamke phīn se ā jāna.

Siwji ū buḍḍhā-buḍḍhī ke bollak "acchā, tū lōgan āpan ghare cal jānā". Jab pahucal, ī lōg ke ghar-dwār phīn se oisehī hō geil. Biśnu bhagwān, jaun bacchā dēwe ke rahal, ū dē delak ū lōg ke. Keisan bacchā, barhe, barhe ke dū dīn tā ekhī dīn mē barhe. Aise hōte hōte, baccā ke kuch dīn, barā baris hoi calat hē. Tā ī kā karis - buḍḍhā-buḍḍhī - bahut khusiailī se,

baccā ke sab cīj kar-ur ke, sādī ke bāt-ōt ke, rājā kane ōkar sādī-ūdi, sāj-ūj kar ke, oke sādī ke bhej lak.

Bakī jaun dīn sādī hōī, ū dīn ū chokrā mar jāī. Buddhā-buddhī bahut khusi se bōlat "baccā ke sādī hōt he." Barāt-urāt lē ke geil, wahā acchā se sādī-ūdi, dham-dhum se hoi geil.

Rāt bheil. Dulahā aur dulahin āpan kohabar mē geil, aur dūnō jane sut geil. Bakī ab etanā tēm rahā ki ū prān cal jāī. Jab rājā sute lagal, tā rānī se bōlis - dēkh, koi bhī āwe door knock kare, tō bōlnā rājā sutal hē, aur rānī jāgat hē. Jab jamdūt ā ke, door knock karat raha, rānī bolle, "rājā sutal hē, aur rānī jāgat he." Jamdūt cal geil jamrāj kane, bōle ke, "dēkh, ū tō rājā sutal hē, aur rānī jāgat hē, keise ham prān lēna?"

Tā phīn jamrāj bollak, "jā, līā dē, nahi tō abhī pahar cal jāī, tō amar hō jāī. Aur ham lōg Bīśnu bhagwān ke kā bolab?" Tā phīn jamdūt jā ke, duarī par tokhlas, phīn jabāb mīlal, "rājā sutal hē, rānī jagat hē". Phīn jamrāj ke lage geil; ū bole, "dēkh ek pahar aur rahi geil hē, jō ī pahar cal jāī, tā ū amar hō jāī". Phīn geil, door knock kare. Abhi koi nei bolle - dūnō jane sut geil rahal. Ā ke, jamdūt ōkar parān lē ke cale geil.....

(There was an old lady and an old man, who had no children. They were constantly depressed, saying 'We have no children, what will happen to our house and property'. So they set fire to the house, and sent everything in it - including their wealth - up in smoke. They went into the jungle weeping profusely. And all the leaves on the trees fell to the ground in sympathy.

A while later Parvati and Shiva were walking down the road; and Shiva was aware of what had happened. Parvati said 'Let us take this road', to which Shiva replied, 'No I will not go on it'. Parvati said, 'No, listen to me'. He was a little afraid of his wife - yes, even Shiva - so he said, 'all right'. So he walked on that road, went up to the couple, and asked, 'Why are you in such sorrow that you are sobbing, and causing all the leaves to fall? What is your pain?' But they said nothing, until Shiva asked them a second and then a third time. Then they said, 'If we ask for something, will you be able to grant it?' Then Shiva replied, 'Yes, I will.' So they said, 'Look, we had a great deal of wealth, but no children. On account of that we burnt all we had, and have to live in this forest. We have no children, and therefore ask for one.'

Shiva said, 'Fine' - what else could he say, having already given his word? So he went to Lord Vishnu and told him what had transpired. And Lord Vishnu said, 'It is their fate that they have no children, what can I do?' But Shiva pleaded, 'By whatever means, make my promise come true'.

So Lord Vishnu went to the one who was his closest assistant, and said, 'Look you must take a human birth and fulfil Shiva's promise.' But the assistant said, 'No I will not go to the world of mortals - there is too much

sorrow there. Lord Vishnu said, 'No go for a while; stay only twelve years, and you can return immediately afterwards'.

Shiva then told the old couple to go home. When they arrived there, they found the household to be exactly as it had been in former times. Lord Vishnu, who had given his word, bestowed a child upon them. It was a baby which grew very rapidly - in one day it grew by the equivalent of two. And so it went, until the end of the twelve years was approaching. And the old couple obliviously began arranging a match for their son. They made a proposal of marriage on his behalf to a king's daughter, and sent him off for the wedding.

His parents happily went through the wedding, not knowing that the day he was being married was also the day he was to die. The wedding went off very successfully.

When night fell, the bride and groom went to the bridal chamber, and soon fell asleep. But the time was approaching when his soul was to depart. When the groom felt sleepy, he said to his queen, 'Look, whoever comes to knock at the door, tell him that the king is asleep, but the queen is awake'. Soon death's messenger came and knocked at the door, and the queen did as she was instructed. The messenger went away and said to the lord of death, 'the man is sleeping, but his wife is awake; how could I take his spirit away?'

Then the lord of death replied, 'Go and try again, for if the hours pass he will become immortal. And what will we tell Lord Vishnu?' So the messenger went a second time, and received the same answer. After consulting again with the lord of death, and being told that only one hour was left before the groom would become immortal, he returned and knocked again. This time there was no answer, as both were fast asleep. So he entered and took his soul away.....).

(The story continues at length - after many tribulations, the bride is finally re-united with her husband on earth).

d) A young fluent speaker ('YFS'): This is a story narrated by an 18 year old girl whose first language is English, but who is fluent in Bhoj. Her speech is, however, phonetically and syntactically different from that of OFS speech illustrated above.

Kām Khojai

Ēk dīn ēk admī rahal, aur ēk aurat rahal. Ū lōg ke pās dū bēṭā rahal; ēk barkā chokrā, aur ēk chōṭā chokrā. Ū admī bōllas ōkar barā chokrā ke, 'tū

kām jā ke khojnā. Ū barā chokrā ēk rājā ke ghare geil. Tab ū rājā bollas, 'ham tōke ēk kām bataib'. Ū chūrī dēlas, aur ēk cirei dēlas; bollak jangal mē jai ke, ū cirai kāt denā, baki koi nei oke dekhnā. Ū chokra ū chūrī lē ke aur cirei lē ke geil. Jangal mē jā ke, ū nei dekhlas koi ke, aur kāt delas cirei. Kāt ke rājā ke ghare geil. Ū dē dēlas rājā ke, aur bollak rājā ke, 'halle, tōr kām-ōm kar dēlī; aur hamke paisā hōna - ham ghare jaib. Hamar bāp barā garīb hē, ōkar paisa hōna. Baki rājā bollas, 'tū nei dekhle koi ke, baki tū cirai kāt dēle. Bhagwān tōke dekhlas, aur asmān tōke dekhlas'. Bollak, 'tū ghare jai ke, tōr māi ke bolnā tū kā karle. Ab kām nei dēb tōke, aur peisā nei dēb.

Ū chokrā geil. Hāt mē kuch nei hē. Ōkar māi ke bollas ī sob bheil. Aur ōkar bāp bollas tū barā kharāb kām karle; tū nei dekhle bhagwān tōke dekhlas, aur asmān tōke dekhlas. Kuch barā hawe, baki nei think karle. Tab bollak chōṭā chokrā ke, 'ab kām jā ke khojnā'.

Ū chokrā geil. Ū phino se maharāj ke ghare geil. Maharāj bollas ham tōke ī chūrī dēb aur ī cirei dēb. Tū jā ke jangal mē kāt denā, koi nei dekhī baki. Chokrā chūrī lē ke aur cirei lē ke geil. Jangal mē geil, tab ū think karlas ki 'uppar bhagwan hē, aur asmān hē. Asmān dekhlas, bhagwān dekhlas. Ōke dekhī ki ū cirei kātī. Ū pāp ke cīj hē. Ū chokrā lē ke geil chūrī aur cirei, ū maharāj ke bollas, 'Dēkh, maharāj, ab ī kām nei karab tōke khatin. Tū hamke khussi kaun cīj tū bolbe, ham nei karab, kahike asmān dēkhat hē, bhagwān dēkhat hē, ... ham nei karab. Tab ū maharāj bollas nei tū acchā kām karle, ki nei kātī. Hamke bahut khussi hē. ī cīj lē ke ghare jā. Tōr māi ke bolnā ham sōb rāj-pat ham tōke dē dēb.

Chokrā ghare geil, aur sōb cīj bollas ōkar māi ke, baki māi nei samjhailas. Tab ī rājā ke ghare geil. Rājā bollas, 'Nei tōr baccā acchā kām karlas. Cirei nei kātī. Tab ham ōke sōb dē dēlī. Tab ū rājā cal geil. Aur ī māi-bāp auri dū baccan acchā se rahalas.

(Looking for Work)

One day there lived a man and his wife. They had two sons - an elder, and a young one. The man said to the elder son that he should go out and look for work. The son then went to a king's house. Then the king said, 'I will first give you something to do'. He gave him a knife and a bird, and asked to go into the jungle and slaughter the bird, without being seen. The boy took the knife and the bird with him. On entering the jungle, he could see no one, so he slew the bird. He then returned to the king's house, handed them over to him, and said, 'Here you are. I have done your bidding, so I want some money to go home. My father is very poor, and he needs some money'. But the king said, 'You didn't see anyone, and you killed the bird. But God saw you, and the heavens saw you'. The king asked him to go home, and tell his mother what he had done. And he said, 'I will give you neither work nor money'.

The boy went away empty handed. He told his mother all that had happened. And his father scolded him for doing such a terrible thing, not realising

that God and the heavens were watching. 'You are so big, yet you did not stop to think'. He then sent the younger son to look for work.

The younger son set out, and he too ended up at the king's house. The king told him, 'I'll give you this bird and this knife. Take them to the jungle and slaughter the bird, but make sure no one sees you. He went into the jungle, but realised that God and the heavens above would see him slaying the bird. He knew it was a sinful act; so he took them back to the king, saying, 'I won't do this thing. You can tell me what you like, but I will not do it'. Then the king said, 'No, you have done a good thing in not killing the bird. I am very pleased. Take these things and go home, and tell your mother that I will give you all of my kingdom'.

The boy went home and told his mother all that happened, but she did not understand. So they went back to the king, and he confirmed that her son had done a worthy deed, and that he had given him all of his kingdom. The king then went away, and the parents, together with the two sons lived happily.....)

e) An example of SS discourse: This is a version of the the tale of 'The dog and the bone'. It is reproduced (as with (d) above) as spoken without any of the deviations from OFS speech being corrected. The narator is SS₈, a male of 24 years, whose background is described in 6.6.

Ēk dīn rahal ēk thō kuttā. Ū admī sāthe geil, kuttā. Butcher ke nagicce rahal. Tab ē bahut bhūk lagal, aur bhittar geil. Ēk thō tukrā gōs coreilak aur bhāgal. Aur ū shopowner bahut gussā bheil, ta kuch nei kar sakal. Bhāgal bahut dūr, aur sōb gōs khā lelak, aur khallī haḍḍī rahal. Haḍḍī ōkar dāt se pakar lelak aur bhāgal....geil ghare. Bare naddī rahal. Ōkar chāhī paṛal hwā par. Ōke nei mālum rahal ōkar chāhi rahal. Tab ū hōna bhokke ke aur khaddēre ke, ...aur ōkar haddī pānī mē girāl, aur ū kuch nei milāl. Aur weise ghare geil.

(One day there was a dog. He was walking with his owner, and came near a butcher-store. He felt very hungry, and entered. He stole a piece of meat, and ran away. The shop-owner became very angry, but could do nothing. The dog ran away, and ate up the meat. He carried the bone in his mouth and ran homewards. There was a river nearby, and he was forced to cross it. Then he saw another dog in the water; it was his shadow, but he didn't know that. He planned to bark at it to frighten it away, and his bone fell into the water, and he got nothing in the end. In that manner he went home.)

f) An example of Code-switching: The speaker here is a forty-eight year old woman, speaking to a slightly older companion. Both women habitually speak Bhoj to each other, with occasional switches to English, which they both have a good command of. The constant switching here is partly an attempt to include two daughters - who understand Bhoj, but rarely speak it - in the conversation. The speaker is expressing her dissatisfaction at the behaviour of some of her relatives.

...Harilāl ke āurat, ū barā barā box - tīn bhāī hē nā - tīn box liyā ke, tīn bhāī ke dē delas. Aur ū grand-baccā raha, Harilāl ke grand-bēṭī*...
 ēk box uṭhā ke āpan ājī-wālā - ū lē ke cal geil. Aur ū Billam-wālī -
 tōke mālum - sawar eisan hē, hamke bolat hē, 'Bhaujī, ā ke bhait hyā,
come and sit, jā ke box liāwat hē, dekhe ke bhāī ka dēle hē..... and me
now I'm getting so fed up, the way they're carrying on.... bole hamar
bhāī dēle hoi sōnā or sovereign, kuch ḍāl ke bhēje hoi. And she's insisting
I must open it. Nei, nei, beṭh, beṭh, tū khōl dē bhaujī, hamke dēkhe
ke hōnā kā hē omē.I'm getting so embarrassed, because I know what's
there. I opened it...ta bollas, 'Are, ī kā hē,...lamp. Kā karab ham lōg
lamp se? Ham lōg ke sab light hē, kā karī ham lōg lamp se?...

...Ēk aur dafā...ham ke dēkh ke jare lagal. Are. I went by her. I made
namastē and all. She said, 'hā, lē jā uppar, Dolly ke dē dē. Ham nautā
dewe ke twenty rand lē geil rahālī. I put it in the envelope. Hamar
bēṭī ke sādī khatin twenty-five rand dēle rahal. Ōkar pās aur bēṭī otnā
hē, nā... Ta bollas, 'Hā, līkh dē, write it, write it Dolly, in the book.'
And yet, Kisūn ke aurat lōgan ail. Unō dūnō gal mē cummā lē ke ōkar
parcel lē ke geil uppar....

(...Harilal's wife had brought very big boxes (of gifts) - there were three brothers, so she brought three gifts. And the granddaughter - Harilal's granddaughter carried one of the boxes to her granny, who took it away (to keep it). And the lady from Verulam - you know, the dark one - says to me, 'Sister-in-law, come and sit here. She went to fetch my box to see what her cousin (lit 'brother') had sent her. And I was getting fed-up at the way they were carrying on. She said, 'My cousin must have sent gold or sovereigns; he must have put some in this box and sent them'. And she insisted that I open it, saying, 'No, no. Sit down, sister-in-law, I want to see what is in it.' In the meantime I was so embarrassed, because I knew what was inside the box. Still I opened it, and she said, 'Oh, what's this - a lamp. What will we do with a lamp? We all have electricity - what on earth will we do with a lamp?

...One other time, she saw me and became jealous. Lord! I went to her. I greeted her with 'namaste'. She said (brusquely), 'Yes, take it upstairs, and give it to Dolly. I had taken twenty rand to give her as a gift, which I had placed in an envelope. She had given me twenty-five

rand at my daughter's wedding - but she has so many more daughters. She then said, 'Yes, write it, write it down in your book, Dolly.'.... And yet when Kisoona's wife and others came, she accepted a kiss on each cheek from them, and took the present from them personally, and went upstairs with it....)

*(Note: the hybrid forms grand-bēṭī and grand-bacchā used here are exceptional - I have not encountered them elsewhere.)

APPENDIX 4 - SONGS

a) Dēbi ke pacrā ('Song for the Goddess'). The following is an invocation to the Goddesses and Gods, sung by a 75 year old female interviewee, which is unknown among younger speakers:

sumirao māī dēbī ke sumirao bhawāni
sumirao bābā dīu hār

tohare sarana bābā mai jaghā rokyo
mōre jagha purana hoi

sumirao mātā ke sumirao pītā
sumirao bābā Hanumān

tohare sarana bābā mai jagha rokyo
mōre jagha purana hoi

āwo dēbiyā maiyā baiṭho mōre angane
dēbo sāto rangiya bichāī

ghīu boraye maiyā homiyā karaibe
dhūāna akase mararai

āwo bhawāni maiyā baiṭho mōre angane
dēbo sāto rangiya bichāī

ghīu boraye maiyā homiyā karaibe
dhūāna akase mararai

āwo dīu hara bābā baiṭho mōre angane
dēbo sāto rangiya bichāī

ghīu boraye bābā homiyā karaibe
dhūāna akase mararai

āwo Hanumāna bābā baiṭho mōre angane
dēbo sāto rangiya bichai

ghīu boraye bābā homiyā karaibe
dhūāna akase mararai

(I remember you Mother Goddess, I remember you God
I remember you Holy Father God

In your refuge, Father and Mother, let my place be reserved
So that my household may become pure

I remember you mother, I remember you father
I remember you Father Hanumān

In your refuge, Father and Mother, let my place be reserved
So that my household may become pure

Come Mother Goddess, sit in my yard
I will give you a mat of seven colours

I will pour ghi, Mother, I will offer oblations
So that the smoke will go up to the sky

Come Mother Goddess, sit in my yard
I will give you a mat of seven colours

I will pour ghi, Mother, I will offer oblations
So that the smoke will go up to the sky

Come Holy Father God, sit in my yard
I will give you a mat of seven colours

I will pour ghi, I will offer oblations
So that the smoke will go up to the sky

Come, Father Hanuman, sit in my yard
I will give you a mat of seven colours

I will pour ghi, I will offer oblations
So that the smoke will go up to the sky)

b) The following is a love-song sung by a young woman, who laments that she has no-one to offer her garland of flowers to.

bēla phūle adhī rāte gajarā kekare galle ḍālo?
are gajarā kekare galle ḍālo?

ēhī gajarā cāne galle ḍālo, suruje galle ḍālo
ū ta ūgherāt gajarā kekare galle ḍālo?

bēla phūle adhī rāte gajarā kekare galle ḍālo?

ēhī gajarā Ganga galle ḍālo, Jamuna galle ḍālo
ū ta bahe dūno sāte gajarā kekare galle ḍālo?

are gajarā kekare galle ḍālo?

bela phūle adhī rāte gajarā kekare galle ḍālo?

ēhī gajarā Mahadēo galle ḍālo, ēhī gajarā Mahadeo galle ḍālo
ōke sobhe mirgā-cāl, gajarā kekare galle ḍālo?

are gajarā kekare galle ḍālo?

ēhī gajarā Rāme galle ḍālo, Lacchane galle ḍālo
unke sobhe dhanuk bana, gajarā kekare galle ḍālo?

are gajarā kekare galle ḍālo?

(This garland of flowers that bloom in the middle of the night
On whose neck shall I place it, on whose neck shall I place it?

Shall I place it on the moon's neck, and on the sun's neck?
But they are drowsy at night, on whose neck shall I place it?

This garland of flowers that bloom in the middle of the night
On whose neck shall I place it?

Shall I place it on Ganga's neck, and on Jamuna's neck?
But they flow in harmony together, on whose neck shall I place it?

This garland of flowers that bloom in the middle of the night
On whose neck shall I place it, on whose neck shall I place it?

Shall I place it on Shiva's neck, shall I place it on Shiva's neck?
But his deer-skin suits him better, on whose neck shall I place it?

On whose neck shall I place this garland?

Shall I place it on Ram's neck, and on Lutchman's neck?

But bows and arrows suit them better, on whose neck shall I place it?

On whose neck shall I place this garland?)

c) Unlike the previous two, the following song was composed in South Africa. It is known to SABh speakers as a drama ke gīt 'a drama-song', sung as part of a dramatic production incorporating a series of satirical sketches mingled with more serious pieces. In this version of a popular song, the wife and husband bemoan each others faults, especially new habits picked up in Natal. The first two verses are spoken by the male, while the wife has her say in the last three.

tū te burhiya se banle jawān
ē rānī kaheke?
ōṭhwa tū lāl kariho
barwā ke curly ḍallo
ē rānī kaheke?

tū cal ja pagaḍandī
apane se dhōb handī
mū mē ḍālo powder
pahire ultā sārī
tū chōr diye kulawā ke cāl

yē hē latest hamar singhār
mērā pahiral phuṭal tōre ākh
ē rājā kaheke?
phaṭal hō Rām sasurariyā se jiārā

ādhī rāt ke saīya āwēlā
kamari ṭhūk ṭhukāwēlā
jaun pahirin nīn se ūṭhe
sab akhiya camkāwēlā
phaṭal hō Rām, sasurariyā se jiārā

gānjā pī ke saiyā āwē
 jhagharā macchāwēlā
 jab ham kucchū bōle
 ta hamke ākhiyā camkāwēlā
 phaṭal hō Rām sasurariyā se jiārā

(From an old lady, you've become young
 Why, O wife?
 You've painted your lips red
 and made your hair all curly
 Why, O wife?

You go out walking down the roads
 I shall do the dishes myself
 You dab powder on your face
 and wear your sari back-to-front
 You've abandoned family traditions

This is my latest style
 My dressing shatters your eyes
 Why, O husband?
 My heart has become disenchanted

My husband comes home at dead of night
 knocking at the door
 The clothes I wear in my sleep
 cause his eyes to glitter
 My heart has become disenchanted

My husband comes home high with dagga
 and raises havoc
 Should I say something
 then he makes eyes at me
 My heart has become disenchanted)

APPENDIX 5 - PROVERBS, RIDDLES, AND MINOR VERSE

a) Proverbs. The following is a selection of the proverbs of Bhoj extant in South Africa, known mainly to the oldest speakers.

dudharī gāi ke dū lāto bhalā

'Even two kicks from a good milking cow are to be valued.' (often used in the context of maltreatment by employers: don't complain as long as you get what you need.)

calani mē gāi duhe
bōle karam ke dōs.

'The cow being milked into a sieve says, 'Such is my fate.' (or 'It must be a fault of my previous life' - a comment on the wastefulness of its owner.)

khēt khāi gadahā
māral jāi jolahā

'The donkey feeds in someone else's field, but its owner receives the punishment.' (It's the innocent who suffer.)

nācce ke dhang nei
anganwā tēh

'He who can't dance says its the ground that's uneven.' (A bad workman always blames his tools.)

khalerī chuṭ jāi
damrī nei chuṭe

'He might leave his skin behind, but never his money.' (A comment on a miser.)

gōre ail baryāt
samdhī ke lage hagās

'The bridegroom's party have arrived at the door, and the host decides that he wants to go to the toilet.' (a comment on a laggard, or one who is ill-prepared.)

b) Riddles (Bujhaunī).

1. lāl chari maidān khari
sās se patōh barhī

'A red stalk standing in a field
the daughter-in-law will grow taller than her mother-in-law.'

2. ēk sup lāwa khēt mē citrāwa
bīnat bīnat koi nei pāwa

'A trayful of popcorn scattered in a field
everyone tries to gather them, but none succeed.'

3. dēkh lē barkhandī bābā
kaun janāwar jāt bā
bē hāt se be gōr se

'Take a look, Father Barkhandi
which animal is going past
without hands, and without feet.'

4. dēkhe ke lāl lāl
khāi ta hai hai

'Very red to look at
but after eating one says "wow"'

5. ēk ciraiyā laṭ ṓkar dūno phakana paṭ
ṓkar khalerī ujār ṓkar mās majedār

'a bird with tangled hair, its two wings floppin downward
its skin white, its meat very tasty.'

6. cār kabbutar cār rang
darba ke bhittar ēk rang

'Four pigeons with four different colours
but inside the cage they've only one colour.'

Answers: 1. makei 'mealie plant' (whose seeds will outgrow the plant)

2. patthar 'hail-stones' 3. dhūwa 'smoke' 4. mircā 'chillie'

5. ganna 'sugar-cane' 6. pān-supāri 'betel-leaf, betel-nut, lime,
and catechu, which when chewed together merge into one colour in the
mouth (= 'cage').

c) Jingles, Macaronics, and folk-songs.

June-July
Kē bhulai

'June and July
Who can forget.'

(Composed, it is said, by the original migrants, in response to - what was to them - Natal's severe winter.)

mālik mālik
ginger-garlic

(A meaningless jingle, revelling in mixing codes, with malik 'lord', and the anti-climactic ginger-garlic, set to the Indic dvandva pattern.)

kūli nām dharāyā kūli nām dharāyā
Natalwā me āi ke bhajan karo bhayā
hāth mē cambu kandh mē kudāri
pardesiya ghare jāi

'They've given you the name 'coolie', they've given you the name 'coolie'
You've come to Natal, give thanks in song, brother
with a cambu in your hand, and a hoe on your shoulder
Let the foreigners go home.'

(This is one version of a song reportedly composed in the earliest days, conveying the hardships of the times, but also revelling in new words learnt locally - Natal, kūli, and cambu 'a can, container' (from Tamil).)

Bibliography

- Andronov, M.S. 1964. 'On the Typological Similarity of New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian.' Indian Linguistics 25:119-126.
- Barz, R.K. 1980. 'The Cultural Significance of Hindi in Mauritius.' Journal of South Asian Studies. New Series 3:1-14.
- Beames, J. 1970. A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal (reprint of the original three volumes of 1872, 1875, and 1879).
- Bhana, S., and Brain, J. 1984. The Movements of Indians in South Africa. (2 vols.) Report presented to the Human Sciences Research Council. Durban.
- Bhatia, T.K. 1981. Transplanted South Asian languages: an overview. Studies in the Linguistic Sciences Vol 11, No 2:129-134.
- Bloomfield, L. 1927. 'Literate and Illiterate Speech.' American Speech 2:432-439.
- Bold, J.D. 1951. Fanagalo Phrase-Book Grammar and Dictionary. Johannesburg: Hugh Keartland.
- Branford, J. 1980. A Dictionary of South African English. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Breatnach, R.B. 1964. 'Characteristics of Irish dialects in process of extinction.' in Communications et rapports du premier congrès de dialectologie générale, pp 141-145. Louvain: Centre international de dialectologie générale.
- Bright, W. (ed) 1966. Sociolinguistics (Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference, 1964). The Hague: Mouton.

- Bughwan, D. 1970. An Investigation into the use of English by the Indians in South Africa, with special reference to Natal. PhD thesis. University of South Africa.
- 1979. 'Language Practices' in Pachai 1979:464-518.
- Burrow, T. 1955. The Sanskrit Language. London:Faber and Faber.
- Campbell, L., and Canger, U. 1978. Chicomultcetec's last throes.' International Journal of American Linguistics 44:228-230.
- Cardona, G. 1965. A Gujarati Reference Grammar. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Censuses of the Union/Republic of South Africa. 1911:UG 32; 1936:UG 44/1938; 1951:UG 00/1959; 1960:Vol 7, No 1; 1970:Report No 02-02-09.
- Chatterji, S.K. 1926. The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language. Calcutta:Calcutta University Press (Repr. George Allen and Unwin 1970 - 3 vols.)
- 1960. Indo-Aryan and Hindi. Calcutta:Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay. (2nd ed.)
- 1972. Select Papers. Bombay:People's Publishing House.
- Chaturvedi, M., and Tiwari, B.N. 1978. A Practical Hindi-English Dictionary New Delhi:National Publishing House.
- Cole, D.T. 1953. 'Fanagalo and the Bantu Languages of South Africa.' African Studies. 12:1-9. (Repr. in Hymes 1964:547-554.)
- Coteanu, I. 1957. Cum dispare o limba? (How does a language die?). Bucharest.
- Davison, A. 1980 . 'Peculiar Passives.' Language 56:42-66.

- Denison, N. 1977. 'Language Death or Language Suicide?' International Journal of the Sociology of Language 12:13-22.
- Distribution of Languages in India in States and Union Territories. 1973. Mysore:Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- Doke, C.M., and Vilakazi, B.W. 1972. Zulu-English Dictionary. Johannesburg:University of Witwatersrand.
- Domingue, N.C. 1971. Bhojpuri and Creole in Mauritius: A study of Linguistic Interference and its Consequences in regard to synchronic variation and language change. PhD thesis. University of Texas.
- Dorian, N. 1973. 'Grammatical Change in a dying dialect.' Language 49:414-438.
- 1981. Language Death - The life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect. Philadelphia:University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Dressler, W. 1972. 'On the phonology of language death.' in Papers from the Eighth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society pp 448-457.
- and Wodak-Leodolter, R. 1977.'Introduction!' International Journal of the Sociology of Language. 12:5-11.
- Dunning, A.R. 1901. A Vocabulary of Hindi, Tamil, and Telugu (in Roman characters). Durban.
- Emeneau, M.B. 1956. 'India as a Linguistic Area.' Language.32:3-16.
repr. in Emeneau 1980:105-125.
- 1980. Language and Linguistic Area. (essays edited by A.S. Dil) Stanford:Stanford University Press.

Ferguson, C.A. 1959. 'Diglossia.' Word 15:325-340.

Fishman, J. (ed) 1966. Language Loyalty in the United States. The Hague: Mouton.

- 1970. Sociolinguistics - A brief introduction. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.
- 1972. Language in Socio-cultural Change (essays edited by A.S. Dil). Stanford:Stanford University Press.

Gal, S. 1979. Language Shift. New York:Academic Press.

Gambhir, S. 1981. The East Indian Speech Community in Guyana:A Sociolinguistic Study with special reference to Koiné-formation. PhD thesis. University of Pennsylvania.

Ginwala, F.N. 1974. Class, Consciousness and Control - Indian South Africans, 1860-1946. PhD thesis. University of Oxford.

Greenberg, J. (ed) 1966. Universals of Language. Cambridge, Mass:MIT Press

Grierson, Sir George, A. 1883-1887. Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihari language. Calcutta:Bengal Secretariat Press.

- 1885. Bihar Peasant Life. (Reprint: 1975. New Delhi:Cosmo Publications.)
- 1903-1928. Linguistic Survey of India. Calcutta (11 vols.)
 - 1927 Vol I Part 1 (Introductory)
 - 1903 Vol V Part 2 (Bihari and Oriya Languages)
 - 1904 Vol VI (Eastern Hindi)
 - 1916 Vol IX Part 1 (Western Hindi and Panjabi).

Gumperz, J.J. 1958. 'Dialect Differences and Social Stratification in a

- a North Indian Village.' American Anthropologist. 60:668-681.
Repr. in Gumperz 71:25-47.
- 1971. Language in Social Groups (essays edited by A.S. Dil)
Stanford:Stanford University Press.
 - and Hymes, D. (eds) 1964. The Ethnography of Communication. New York:
Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
 - 1972. Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Commun-
ication. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
 - and Blom, 1972. 'Social Meaning in linguistic structure: code-
switching in Norway. in Gumperz and Hymes 1972
- Haas, M. 1968. 'The last words of Biloxi.' International Journal of Amer-
ican Linguistics. 34:77-84.
- Haugen, E. 1953. The Norwegian Language in American - A Study in Bilingual
Behaviour. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- 1973. 'Language Contact and Immigrant Languages in the United
States: A Research Report 1956-1970. in Sebeok 1973:505-591.
- Hill, J., and Hill, K. 1977. 'Language Death and relexification in Tlaxc-
alan Nahuatl.' International Journal of the Sociology of
Language. 12:55-69.
- Hoernle, A.F. 1880. Gaudian Languages with special reference to Eastern
Hindi. London: Trübner and Co.
- Hook, P.E. 1974. The Compound Verb in Hindi. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Centre
for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan.

Horstmann, M.J. 1969. Sadani: A Bhojpuri dialect spoken in Chota Nagpur.
Wiesbaden:Otto Harrassowitz.

Huiskamp, A.B. 1978. Languages of the Guianas. Vol II. Surinam: Summer
Institute of Linguistics.

Hutton, J.H. 1963. Caste in India. (4th edition). Oxford:OUP

Hymes, D. (ed) 1964. Language in Culture and society. New York:Harper and
Row.

- (ed) 1971 Pidginization and Creolization of Languages. Cambridge:
CUP.

India - A Reference Annual 1973. New Delhi:Government of India.

Kachru, B.B. 1983. The Indianization of English - The English Language in
India. Oxford:OUP

Kannemeyer, H.D. 1943. A Critical Survey of Indian Education in Natal,
1860-1937. M Ed thesis. University of Witwatersrand.

Kellogg, S.H. 1875. A Grammar of the Hindi Language. London:Routledge and
Kegan Paul.

Kichlu, K.P. 1928. Memorandum on Indian Education in Natal. Pietermaritz-
burg.

Kishna, S. 1984. 'Language and Language Use of the Hindustani in Suriname'
Paper presented at the third conference on East Indians in
the Caribbean. St. Augustine:University of the West Indies.

Kloss, H. 'German-American Language Maintenance Efforts.' in Fishman 1966:
206-252.

- Kuper, H. 1960. Indian People in Natal. Pietermaritzburg:Natal University Press.
- Kuppusami, C. 1946. Indian Education in Natal, 1860-1946. M Ed thesis University of South Africa.
- Labov, W. 1972. Sociolinguistic Patterns. Philadelphia:University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ladefoged, P. 1982. A Course in Phonetics (2nd ed). New York:Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.
- Lanham, L.W. 1978. 'South African English' in Lanham and Prinsloo 1978: 138-165.
- and Prinsloo, K.P. (eds) 1978. Language and Communication Studies in South Africa. Cape Town:Oxford University Press.
- Lass, R. 1980. On Explaining Language Change. Cambridge:CUP
- 1984. Phonology. Cambridge:CUP
- Lehmann, W.P. 1973. 'A Structural Principle of Language and its Implications.' Language 49:47-66
- 1974. Proto Indo-European Syntax. Austin:University of Texas Press.
- Macgregor, R.S. 1972. Outline of Hindi Grammar. Oxford:OUP
- Meer, Y.S. 1980. Documents of Indentured Labour, Natal 1851-1917. Durban: Institute of Black Research.

- Mesthrie, R. 1984a 'Prolegomena to the History of Indian Languages in South Africa.' Journal of the University of Durban-Westville, New Series 1:57-72
- 1984b 'A bird's-eye view of Bhojpuri in South Africa: with some comparisons with other overseas varieties.' Paper presented at the third conference on East Indians in the Caribbean. St Augustine: University of the West Indies.
- Miller, W. 1971. 'The Death of Language or Serendipity among the Shoshoni.' Anthropological Linguistics 13:114-120.
- Misra, R.B. 1980. The Social Stratification and Linguistic Diversity in the Bhojpuri Speech Community. PhD thesis. University of Poona.
- Mithun, M., and Henry, R. 1979. 'Notes on Moribundity: Incipient obsolescence of Oklahoma Iroquois.' Paper presented at the 43rd International Congress of Americanists. Vancouver, British Columbia.
- Moag, R. 1977. Fiji Hindi: A basic Course and Reference Grammar. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Mohan, P. 1984. 'A Language implodes: the death of Trinidad Bhojpuri.' Paper presented at the third conference on East Indians in the Caribbean. St Augustine: University of the West Indies.
- Nida, E.A., and Fehderau, H.W. 1970. 'Indigenous Pidgins and Koinés.' International Journal of American Linguistics. 36:146-155.
- Nowbath, R.S., Chotai, S., and Lalla, B.D. 1960. The Hindu Heritage in South Africa. Durban: South African Hindu Maha Sabha.
- Pachai, B. (ed) 1979. South Africa's Indians: The Evolution of a Minority. Washington: University Press of America.

- Palmer, M. 1957. The History of Indians in Natal. (Vol X of Natal Regional Survey.) Oxford: OUP
- Ramanujan, A.K., and Masica, C. 1969. 'Towards a Phonological Typology of the Indian Linguistic Area' in Sebeok 1969:543-577.
- Rambiritch, B. 1960. 'The History of Mother Tongue Education.' in Nowbath et al. 1960:67-73.
- Ramdutt, K. 'Some aspects of Indic Pejorative Usage among Hindus in Guyana.' Paper presented at the third conference on East Indians in the Caribbean. St Augustine: University of the West Indies.
- Ramesar, P. 1978. Trinidad Bhojpuri: A Morphological Study. PhD thesis. University of Michigan. (now P. Mohan).
- Romaine, S. (ed) 1982. Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities. London: Edward Arnold.
- Saha, P. 1970. Emigration of Indian Labour (1834 - 1900). Delhi:People's Publishing House.
- Saksena, B.R. 1971. The Evolution of Awadhi. (2nd ed.) Delhi:Motilall Banarsidass.
- Samarin, W.J. 1971. 'Salient and Substantive Pidginization.' in Hymes 1971: 117-140.
- Sannyasi, B.D., and Chaturvedi, B. 1931. Report on Emigrants Repatriated to India under the Assisted Emigration Scheme from South Africa. Pravasi Bhawan, Bihar:authors.
- Schlieben-Lange, B. 1977. 'The language situation in Southern France.' International Journal of the Sociology of Language. 12:101-108.

- Schmidt, R.L. 1981. Dakhini Urdu - History and Structure. New Delhi: Bahri Publications.
- Sebeok, T.A. (ed) 1969. Current Trends in Linguistics. Vol V. The Hague: Mouton.
- (ed) 1973. Current Trends in Linguistics. Vol X. The Hague:Mouton.
- Shapiro, M.C., and Schiffman, H.F. 1981. Language and Society in South Asia. Delhi:Motilall Banarsidass.
- Shukla, S. 1968. Bhojpuri Syntax. PhD thesis. Cornell University.
- 1983. Bhojpuri Grammar. Washington:Georgetown University Press.
- Singh, K.S. (ed) 1978. Readings in Hindi-Urdu Linguistics. New Delhi: National Publishing House.
- Srivastava, R.N. 1978. Evaluating Communicability in Village Settings. New Delhi:Unicef.
- The James Stuart Papers - unpublished collection. Durban:Killie Campbell Library.
- Swadesh, M. 1948. Sociologic Notes on obsolescent languages. International Journal of American Linguistics 14:226-235.
- Tayal, M. 1980. Gandhi:The South African Experience. PhD thesis. University of Oxford.
- Thompson, L.M. 1952. Indian Immigration into Natal (1860-1872). Archives yearbook for South African History.
- Thomson, G. 1960. The Greek Language. Cambridge:W. Heffer and Sons.
- Tinker, H. 1974. A New System of Slavery: the export of Indian labour overseas 1830-1920. Oxford:OUP

- Tiwari, U.N. 1960. The Origin and Development of Bhojpuri. (Monograph Series Vol X). Calcutta: The Asiatic Society.
- Tiwary, K.M. 1968. 'The Echo-word Construction in Bhojpuri.' Anthropological Linguistics 10:32-38.
- Trammell, R.L. 1968. 'The Phonology of the Northern Standard dialect of Bhojpuri. Anthropological Linguistics 13:126-141.
- Trudgill, P. 1983. On Dialect. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Turner, R.L. 1966. A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages. Oxford: OUP.
- van Wyk, E.B. 1978. 'Language Contact and Bilingualism.' in Lanham and Prinsloo 1978:29-52.
- Weinreich, U. 1968. Languages in Contact. The Hague: Mouton (Reprint ed.)
- Woolner, A.C. 1975. An Introduction to Prakrit. Delhi: Motilall Banarsidass (reprint ed).
- Zograph, G.A. 1982. Languages of South Asia. (trans. by G.L. Campbell.) London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

20 AUG 1985